Daily Report

East Europe

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Daily Report
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FBIS-EEU-95-126 CONTENTS *30 June 1995*

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INTER-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Vaclav Havel Denounces 'Brutal Attack' on Bosnia *[AFP]* 1

ALBANIA

Party Leaders Comment on Council of Europe Entry *[KOHA JONE 30 Jun]* 2
'Holiday' Declaration Deplored *[KOHA JONE 30 Jun]* 2
Editor Defends Daily's Coverage of Admission *[KOHA JONE 29 Jun]* 3
Socialist Youth Leader Views Situation *[KOHA JONE 29 Jun]* 4

BULGARIA

Zhelev, Aliyev Sign Friendship Treaty *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Zhelev Departs for Black Sea Cooperation Meeting *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Turkey's Inonu Ends Visit, Plans Demirel Visit *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Signs Cooperation Protocol *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Japan Offers Safety Equipment for Kozloduy Plant *[KONTINENT 26 Jun]* 7
Union Leader Views Relations With Cabinet *[TRUD 26 Jun]* 8

CZECH REPUBLIC

Visegrad Four Meeting Hardly Noticed *[PRAGUE POST 13 Jun]* 10
Klaus Describes Opinion Differences in Coalition *[LIDOVE NOVINY 23 Jun]* 10
Officials Admit Tension Growing *[LIDOVE NOVINY 24 Jun]* 11
Poll Confirms ODS, CSSD Dominance on Scene *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 23 Jun]* 11
Jun Poll Suggests Havel Most Popular Politician *[LIDOVE NOVINY 23 Jun]* 12
Central Bank Announces Anti-Inflationary Measures *[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY 23 Jun]* 12
Russians Believed Seeking Control of Oil Industry *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 27 Jun]* 13
Postcommunist Countries Selling Excess Arms *[PRAGUE POST 13 Jun]* 14
Tripartite Fails To Approve General Agreement *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 27 Jun]* 14
Schism Between Catholic Church, Society *[PRAGUE POST 13 Jun]* 15

SLOVAKIA

President Calls For Unity Before Pope's Visit *[Bratislava Radio* 16
Meciar on Possible Ouster of Kovac by Parliament *[SME 28 Jun]* 16
Social Security, Apartment Ownership Laws Passed *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 24 Jun]* 17
Council Passes Minor Bills, Adjourns Until Jul *[Editorial Report]* 17
New Intelligence Chief Reportedly Worked in Libya *[SME 28 Jun]* 18
Hungarians Commit 'First Act of Civil Disobedience' *[PRAVDA 29 Jun]* 18
New Hungarian Party Seen as HZDS 'Fifth Column' *[Editorial Report]* 18
Public Administration Employees Protest Dismissals *[SME 28 Jun]* 19
State-Controlled TV Reintroducing 'Censorship' *[Editoriral Report]* 19
Bank Governor Views Scale of Money Counterfeiting *[SME 28 Jun]* 20

HUNGARY

Russia Agrees to Full Repayment of Debt *[Budapest Radio]* 21
Delegation to Slovakia Unhappy With Talks *[Budapest Radio]* 21
Defense Committee Discusses NATO, Conscripts *[Budapest Radio]* 21
MDF Official Views Situation of Minorities *[MAGYAR NEMZET 29 Jun]* 22

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

UN: Actions Hampered by Lack of Clear Guidance *[AFP]* 24
Vice President Ganic Injured in Car Crash *[Zagreb Radio]* 24
Reported in Stable Condition *[AFP]* 24
Karadzic Wants Mobilization, Improved Positions *[Banja Luka TV]* 24
Karadzic Urges Media 'To Act in Harmony' *[SRNA]* 25
Krajisnik Asks FRG To Overturn RRF Decision *[SRNA]* 25
Mladic Fears 'Rogues Within His Own Ranks' *[London INDEPENDENT 30 Jun]* 26
Serb Officer: RRF Fighting Alongside Army *[GLAS SRPSKI 28 Jun]* 28
Sites of Serb Missiles, Planes, FRY Troops *[Summary]* 29
Muslims Reportedly Use Poisonous Gases *[SRNA]* 29
Zubak Gives RRF 30 Days To Explain Mandate *[TANJUG]* 30
Croat Official Views Problems With RRF *[Zagreb TV]* 30
Croats, Muslims Discuss Differences in Kakanj *[Mostar Radio]* 30
HDZ's Kordic Views Talks *[Sarajevo Radio]* 30

CROATIA

UN: No Confirmation of FRY Troops in RSK *[TANJUG]* 32
Tudjman Returns From New Zealand, Australia *[Editorial Report]* 32
Briefs Press on Visit *[Zagreb Radio]* 32
Serb Krajina Council Meets, Cancels Exemptions *[SRNA]* 36
Article Views Conflicts in State Leadership *[SLOBODNA DALMACIJA 25 Jun]* 36
Report Views IDS Assembly, Trends in Istria *[VJESNIK 26 Jun]* 37

POLAND

Oleksy Discusses Cannes Summit, EU *[Paris LES ECHOS 29 Jun]* 39
Germany's Handling of Illegals Criticized *[Berlin DDP/ADN]* 39
Okonski, Wilecki Hold Joint News Conference *[Warsaw Radio]* 40
Comment on Defense Minister Law *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 30 Jun]* 40
Daily Says Left Wants To Destroy Nation *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 26 Jun]* 41
Article Called 'Disgraceful' *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 29 Jun]* 43
Kolodko's 'Strategy for Poland' Assessed *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 28 Jun]* 44
Ministry Debates Next Stage of Privatization *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 27 Jun]* 45
Government's Vacillation on Taxes Criticized *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 8 Jun]* 46
Highway Expansion Plans Viewed *[GAZETA KRAKOWSKA 8 Jun]* 48

ROMANIA

Daily Publishes Libel Charge Against Iliescu *[COTIDIANUL 23 Jun]* 50
SRI Agents Accused of Filming Journalists *[AZI 24 Jun]* 50
'Incompetent' Agents Dismissed *[ADEVARUL 27 Jun]* 51
Tudor's Charges Against SPP Head Refuted *[EVENIMENTUL ZILEI 22 Jun]* 51

SLOVENIA

Members of Operative Defense Headquarters Listed *[Summary]* 54

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Social Groups Protest Arrival of German Troops *[TANJUG]* 55
Bank Governor: No Danger of 'Monetary Collapse' *[Belgrade TV]* 55
Unions: Economic Losses Greater Than Profits *[TANJUG]* 55

Serbia

ND Issues Statement on Contact Group Plan *[TANJUG]* 56
Seselj Calls Milosevic 'Traitor' to Nation *[NIN 23 Jun]* 56
Aviation Workers Protest, Block Road, Railway *[NASA BORBA 29 Jun]* 57
Government Supports Wheat Prices, Buys Surplus *[Belgrade TV]* 57
Editorial Changes at Politika TV Predicted *[TELEGRAF 28 Jun]* 58

Kosovo

Inspector's Murder Termed 'Terrorist Act' *[TANJUG]* 58

Vaclav Havel Denounces 'Brutal Attack' on Bosnia

AU2906190195 Paris AFP in English
1851 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Strasbourg, June 29 (AFP)—Czech President Vaclav Havel inaugurated the new Palace of Human Rights here Thursday [29 June] calling on the court to defend values under constant attack in warring Bosnia.

The values which must be "protected and cultivated" in the Strasbourg court are victims of "a brutal attack a few hundred kilometres away" in Bosnia-Herzegovina, said Havel.

Havel denounced the "war carried out against all of us, against human rights, against the co-existence of men of different origin or different creeds."

He was speaking as head of state of the country which is taking over the rotating six-monthly presidency of the Council of Europe, and as a former dissident, with direct experience of human rights abuses, after five years in communist prisons.

Each of the 500 million citizens of the 34 member states of the Council of Europe can seek justice in the European Court of Human Rights, which has already been housed for six months in the building inaugurated Thursday and designed by British architect Sir Richard Rogers.

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Party Leaders Comment on Council of Europe Entry

AU3006122395 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 30 Jun 95 p 4

[Statements by political party leaders "prepared by Elio Elini": "Admission to the Council of Europe—A Success for the Whole of Albanian Politics"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Sabri Godo, Chairman of the Republican Party

This is joyful news for all Albanians of all political persuasions. This has nothing to do with the present government or parliament, because we know that Albania is headed toward Europe. The problems we have and will have in the future will be simpler to solve now that we are in the Council of Europe, which will now show greater care for us.

Fine and good things also have their difficulties. As regards the criticisms of the Council of Europe's Judicial Commission, we would do well to correct our work to be in tune with the general spirit of the Council of Europe.

Ilir Meta, Deputy Chairman of the Socialist Party

Albania's admission to the Council of Europe is no doubt something to cheer all Albanians, because it is a historical event for Albanian democracy, even if it comes somewhat late. We believe that, having welcomed Albania into its bosom, the Council of Europe will contribute to further democratizing Albania and raising the standards of Albanian democracy to European levels.

It has been about three years since Albania applied for membership in the Council of Europe, and the Council has always been of two minds over whether to admit Albania or delay her application, having observed violations of democratic principles and even certain cases indicating that Albanian democracy does not possess the proper European characteristics.

Admission into the Council of Europe provides opportunities for further democratization.

Ridvan Peshkepia, Deputy of the Democratic Alliance

Albania's admission to the Council of Europe is a great success for all Albanian politics and the Albanian nation. Finally, after great strain and effort, we have succeeded in joining the Council of Europe. The present government deserves little credit for this, having systematically raised subjective obstacles. Our admission is to the incontrovertible credit of the opposition, which has struggled hard to realize Albania's membership of the Council of Europe. We are now obliged to listen to the paeans of triumph from members of the government over Albania's success. However, anybody with a little common sense in his head knows that it is not a victory for the Democratic Party.

For one thing, the Judicial Commission of the Council of Europe voted against the Parliamentary Assembly's examination of Albania's application for evident reasons, and I think this commission was absolutely right. However, the Political Commission fortunately thought that it would be easier to correct these shortcomings within the Council of Europe. This is a major favor shown to the opposition in Albania, an umbrella sheltering it.

Gaqo Apostoli, General Secretary of the Social Democratic Party

Albania has taken a decisive step toward Europe. The credit goes to the Albanian people, because this is not the preserve of politicians. Every honest Albanian or politician should feel happy today.

No doubt the criticisms raised by the Judicial Commission of the Council of Europe are valid. We must eliminate these shortcomings as soon as possible, because our honor demands that Albania should fully deserve her place in the Council of Europe.

'Holiday' Declaration Deplored

AU3006122095 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 30 Jun 95 p 4

[Commentary by Frrok Cupi: "Joining Europe Is No Holiday"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The organizations of the Council of Europe finally accepted Albania's application for membership yesterday. This means that since yesterday Albania has been one of the 36 states of Europe making up the Council. Official Albanian propaganda, which is at the same time party propaganda, has for some time been rejoicing as if on a holiday. By systematically influencing the brains of the Albanians, so bamboozled between democracy and chaos, this propaganda has created a holiday mood over Albania's admission to the Council of Europe. In general, people are discovering that this political act is a kind of feast where the table has just been set, and they are merely waiting for the wine and the gold plate piled with fruit and sweetmeats to arrive. What makes the holiday mood even more welcome and incontestable is the fact that Albania has been short of holidays in the last few years, and shadows of doubt have been cast on all the popular festivals, making this a rare occasion on which everybody can celebrate together. However, this is only

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human weakness, which the state is attempting to exploit to create a reckless atmosphere of glee.

To take Albania's membership of the Council of Europe as the occasion for a holiday is a mistake. Why?

The Holiday Is in the Government's Interest, but Nobody Else's

The current Albanian Government, left almost bereft of the functions of government, needs the upbeat of a holiday. If individuals and parties of the opposition dance to this tune, the government can really rub its hands and can become toastmaster at the feast. In this way the Albanians, claiming to be moving toward civilized Europe, will give the impression of being filled with joy and contentment.

This is at a time when civilized Europe wants people to take their governments to task and use them. Civilized people never follow the piper to government-sponsored holidays, but rather the reverse. If the Albanian Government succeeds in establishing Europe Day as a meaningless holiday, this is a bad sign for us citizens.

Let us say that we try to make this a festival as the government would wish. We would earn high praise for this. For a time, the government would behave very gently toward us, because we would manifest our popular "patriotism" by forgiving the government for all the evil it has done to us, and which Europe is demanding that it should redress. For instance, "when our democracy was fragile and Europe did not know," the government could instantly excommunicate Mr. Brozi, the head of the Supreme Court, who has called for the independence of the judiciary. It could immediately forget Fatos Nano's imprisonment, over which Europe made conditions yesterday, no less. If we dare to celebrate, let us do so, but in the awareness of what will happen.

Only the government is interested in a "holiday," because a holiday befuddles the mind. Especially at the present moment when Meksi's appallingly slippery hands are empty, it needs some celebration resembling a wedding, a binge, or an intoxicating dream. This is a state of mind in which the government can survive without doing anything. People celebrate Albania's entry into Europe, while the government, like a bogus clergyman, weaves its own web to prolong its dubious existence.

Finally, the government needs the holiday in order to cope with the piles of garbage, the crime, the hunger, the cholera, and the galloping corruption. Who can say tomorrow that there is garbage in the streets, who can say that children are being sold, who can say that Tirana has no water, and who can say that there is corruption or incompetence in the government? The government's response would be very harsh, because it would call such complaints antidemocratic, antireform, and anti-European. A very serious fate would await you, and all the more so because there is nobody to see, listen, and judge. The people, massed together in their holiday mood, would see and hear nothing. When they wake from their delirium, then they will see that their holiday has turned into its opposite.

Individuals Not Inclined To Celebrate

When an individual starts to celebrate, he is no longer an individual. Governments of the kind that we have favor crowds, with the idea of obliterating individuals. Look at all the propaganda and all the work of the Albanian Government, its lack of identity, now moving to the left and now to the right, now imprisoning, now pardoning, now giving way, and now standing firm. This is its basis, neither communist nor Ballist, neither thieving nor honest, neither fish nor fowl. In general, all the criticisms leveled against it in its relations with Europe have concerned crimes against human individuality and human rights. If this government creates an opportunity for mass celebrations, we have created the opportunity to eliminate the individual.

But what is the Council of Europe? The Council of Europe, like European civilization, means before everything else, the right of the individual and a fair democratic rapport between what is called the government and what is called the opposition. We are entering the Council of Europe precisely to win these things and not to sink them. This is, indeed, the purpose of European democracy. Will individuals, institutions, and political parties forget to follow this road, but instead join the festival to which the government tempts them?

Editor Defends Daily's Coverage of Admission

AU3006095195 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 29 Jun 95 p 3

[Commentary by Editor in Chief A. Frangaj: "Disinformation of the People's Assembly Information Office"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Explanation by the People's Assembly Information Office

We explain that the newspaper KOHA JONE of 28 June distorts the truth regarding the conclusions of the meeting of the Judicial Commission of the Council of Europe held on 27 June.

The meeting of this commission decided, with 14 votes in favor and 11 against, to pass the recommendations

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submitted by Mr. Kolumberg [name as published], chairman of the Judicial Commission, to the Political Commission for consideration after the meeting of the Parliamentary Assembly to be held on 29 June 1995, at which the agenda includes the discussion of Albania's admission to the Council of Europe.

Although it has now become clear that KOHA JONE's journalists are upset about Albania's admission to the Council of Europe, we explain that decisionmaking is not in the hands of these journalists, and that they have no right to spread disinformation concerning the decisions of important European institutions.

It is extremely difficult to reply to certain people who only sign their names when they receive their salaries. It is our misfortune that, out of respect for the reader, we are obliged to reply to certain unnecessary "explanations" or "denials" issued by these people who are unable to read the truth as it stands and who contrive base and servile slanders and distortions against information in the press.

The explanation issued yesterday by the People's Assembly Information Office to the Radio-Television and ATA was of this kind. The explanation had no content beyond an intention to steer public opinion. It stated that KOHA JONE had distorted the truth and, at the same time, provided the very same figures we published about the voting in the Judicial Commission of the Council of Europe, which, in contrast to the Political Commission, sought to postpone until autumn any consideration by the Parliamentary Assembly of Albania's application. The 14 votes in favor were in favor of postponing any such consideration because of six criticisms from this commission, which concerned:

1. The control of the Court of Cassation's budget.

2. The violence in Albanian prisons.

3. The imprisonment of Ilir Hoxha because of his criticisms.

4. The control of the press by the National Intelligence Service (the case of Filip Cakuli).

5. The level of the reform in the Prosecutor's Office and the courts.

6. The Nano case.

These criticisms will be examined today in order to decide Albania's admission or the postponement of the country's application. This information published yesterday in KOHA JONE came from the chairman of the Judicial Commission in Strasbourg, Mr. Kolumberg himself, and was sent by a journalist who closely watches developments in Strasbourg. This information was much more accurate than that of those who swat flies in the offices of the parliament.

The anonymous writer is shameless enough to add that the journalists of KOHA JONE are upset at Albania's admission to the Council of Europe. This is an insane assertion, because we would be the first to rejoice at and benefit from such membership. Being members of Europe, the unjust force and use of imprisonment against this newspaper practiced to date could not continue, because Europe holds freedom the press sacred and, just as it can admit a country, can also expel one if it violates Europe's principles. Thus, respected nameless author, your bosses would not longer have the opportunity to behave like pashas with the laws or the organs of justice. We might be upset to be excluded, because those that use you would not be very pleased to become members, because they are not used to hearing suggestions and criticisms for the organs of European democracy and freedom. They think all day of nothing but violence and primitive revenge against the press and freedom of thought.

Of course admission or not into the Council of Europe does not depend on us, and when the writer of this explanation points this out he is not exposing anything new apart from his own imbecility. It is our duty to inform, and it is not our fault if we reflect violations that have taken place under the current regime. It is Europe that admits us into Europe, while it is your bosses, Mr. Anonymous, who might leave us outside, and who do not respect the laws, rights, and freedoms that democratic European states guarantee.

Socialist Youth Leader Views Situation

AU3006061095 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 29 Jun 95 p 7

[Interview with Pandeli Majko, chairman of the Eurosocialist Youth Forum, by Jonile Godole; place and date not given: "Berisha Was Created as a Politician of Tension"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Godole] Now that about one year remains until the new elections, how do you view the Socialist Party's [PS] coming to power within the present political spectrum?

[Majko] The PS's coming to power must be considered as part of the transitional process toward democracy by Europe's former communist East. Time has proven that the Right, recently formed throughout the East, brought to its policies in government a "realism" that was not supported by the electorate's psychology. "The economy decides." In my opinion, this could have been the refrain of postcommunist politics in the East, one that of course

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has been heard for a long time in Albania. I do not see the PS's arrival in power as the "happy end" to a grim regime. On the contrary, it is simply the first step with which the reformed Albanian Left will try its chances. I do not want to daydream. It would be naive to imagine that everything will change fast, and similarly naive to think that the victory will be easy. Politics as conducted in our country is extremely savage in the methods it uses. One can find the most ridiculous forms of savagery within it. The "status quo" is still oscillating between extremes. However, if we could once have said that we had a lot of crowds and few politicians for them, it is now the other way around; there are many politicians, but they cannot now find crowds.

We might wish for assumption of power by the PS for many reasons. However, above everything else, it will indicate one special thing. It will mark the end of the short history of crowd politics and its personalities.

[Godole] While we are on the subject of coming to power, what place does President Berisha assume in the PS's political spectrum?

[Majko] It is clear that when Berisha is mentioned today, we all put ourselves in the role of "Mayakovskiy" and think of the entire politics of the Democratic Party [PD]. There is no doubt that he represents the entire charisma of the PD and its rule. In my view, Berisha must be seen as the "strong hand" of Albanian politics that makes the real and tough decisions on what are considered the "main" political issues. His politics of "discipline" is moving slowly, but it is moving. Berisha's policies, at least up to the year 1996, are gradually falling away from their "absolute" and are becoming less passionate and more economic. This kind of policy is spreading its strategic net. The economic lobbies that are beginning to take shape will sooner or later bring new qualities into the policies of the Right and a new generation of politicians. However, this is only one side of the coin. Often evident in Berisha's behavior is also a policy of division. I have never believed in Berisha's "fear" of the return of communism. As far as I can understand it, his "fear" is that of a specific policy. The dictatorship has left many open sores in Albania, and a social stratum of people still suffer from them. It is people who are "scared" of such a return that Berisha has tried to win to his side, i.e., for the PD, and to persuade to cross swords so savagely with the PS. Berisha was created and still appears as a politician of tensions. He cannot be understood in any other way, even when he appears in church....

[Godole] Many political forces are appealing to the people, as they did in the referendum campaign. Do you think that the success of 6 November shows the superiority of the opposition in Albanian political life over the government?

[Majko] We have never thought of 6 November as a victory, because nobody won anything. When I heard my friends say that "we won," they are simply pleased that the greatest evil was averted. The president declared that the people won. I think that it would better to say that we all lost.

[Godole] Why do you call it a loss for everybody?

[Majko] The night of 6 November was a most painful loss for a people like ours who have always dreamed of having their own state. However, if we were to think of 6 November as a defeat, we would no doubt start looking for culprits for this historic defeat. I have no difficulty in understanding the nightmare of that night of the referendum for Dr. Berisha. Awaiting the outcome of that blunt choice that he himself imposed, he heard the expected response of "hero" turned into "culprit." A culprit, forever. He rejected in the most high-handed way the opposition's consensus for approving the new constitution according to the law. The response that came to him was equally challenging: "culprit." God had not blessed his constitution. He would perhaps have preferred to be in Fatos Nano's cell.

[Godole] While we are on the subject of Nano, it seems from his most recent interviews that his ideas about PS policies are moving toward the center. He nevertheless remains in prison. Do you think Nano's imprisonment could mean his departure from politics for a time?

[Majko] Fatos Nano cannot leave politics. The point is that they wish to keep him at a distance from politics, and from the elections for the new parliament. These are obstacles raised in front of him not for today, but for tomorrow. Fatos Nano will be obliged in fact to overcome many difficulties. However, the greatest difficulty will not be to surmount the prison walls, but confronting the egos of the modern-day party hierarchies. He cannot endure living idols.

[Godole] The question of alliances in the opposition has surfaced in public again. What is your opinion?

[Majko] For the opposition, the question of alliances is often fraught with a pointless kind of tension. Many "formulae" are pursued in the salons and cafes of the parliament, but they remain on paper. Unfortunately, the opposition plays out a kind of absurd theater in public over this issue, with vacuous phrases that fail to create any room for action by any of the opposition parties as institutions. It is not hard to notice that the PS is open to allies of substance. However, it is also not difficult to notice the hesitation of the other opposition parties. The new elections that are approaching are

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awaited with political enthusiasm but also electoral concern. The electoral "stock exchange" in Albania is very complicated. Under the weight of its "relativism," many opposition politicians are subjected to unnatural pressures. The year 1996 will decide a great deal for the future of our country's political parties. You notice that if you calculate the electorate that the parties claim for themselves, Albania has a population of 10 million, but 2 million are a political reality and the remainder are wishful thinking. That is what political realism is like among us. Of course, there would be no meaning to democracy without some "confusion" of this kind. But we have a lot of it....

[Godole] There has been talk for a long time in the PD about a "Selami" wing. Do you think that he is taking premeditated steps for the future?

[Majko] To tell the truth, I watched the Selami "trial" attentively and with concern. What worried me most of all was the tendency observable among almost all those analyzing Selami's behavior to see him as a kind of "foreign body" in the PD. I think that Selami's challenge today lies less in his "rebellion" than in his staying in the ranks of the party of which he is a member. By assuming this position he has announced a political individuality that is worth respecting. In the country's political scene, internal processes in parties produce upheavals in different ways. Selami, behaving as he has done, has made a necessary "correction" to the country's political life. He has overcome that "taboo" in Albanian party thinking, which bears the name of "a party decision." His courage transcends the borders of party politics and has taken the form of a real intellectual challenge. Selami has acquired a new experience in Albanian politics. He experienced losing. Of course, he made mistakes. However, Selami has now proven that he has lost the seat of party chairman in order to gain his own self.

Selami's signals in politics are something new and moderate, as the political scene moves to the right. In this sense, if Selami were to achieve a victory tomorrow, it would not be a victory for him alone.

[Godole] The Eurosocialist Youth Forum [FRESSH] will soon hold its second congress. What does the Forum's chairman think about this congress's organization?

[Majko] The second FRESSH congress is a regular one. However, the time at which it takes place gives it special significance.

I say that this congress will show that there exists in the bosom of the Left a generation that is striving to play its role. I am optimistic that this congress will note a qualitative improvement in the FRESSH, which has now become one of the strongest institutions of the PS and the Left in general. For me, as FRESSH chairman, the congress is becoming something "different." It comes as a final response to the machinations both within and outside the PS that have striven to portray the Eurosocialists as a "dividing force" or "fraction" within the party.

Time is demonstrating the commonplace falsity of a "loyalty" shown toward parties whenever they come close to power. The boys and girls of the FRESSH have indeed shown their mettle, having exceeded the most optimistic forecasts. It is now my right to say something to them that they rarely hear: Thank you!

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Zhelev, Aliyev Sign Friendship Treaty

AU2906170295 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The official part of the visit to Bulgaria by Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev ended today with a joint news conference given by him and Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev.

A Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation between Bulgaria and Azerbaijan, and governmental agreements on cooperation in transportation, trade-economic relations, and health care were signed today. The Friendship Treaty was signed at the Boyana Residence by the two presidents.

This is an important step in developing relations between Bulgaria and Azerbaijan, Presidents Zhelev and Aliyev stressed at the news conference. [passage indistinct]

Geydar Aliyev was received today by National Assembly Chairman Sendov and Prime Minister Videnov. [passage indistinct] Tomorrow Mr. Aliyev will depart for Bucharest.

Zhelev Departs for Black Sea Cooperation Meeting

AU3006114995 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev departed on 30 June for Bucharest, where he will take part in the one-day summit of the 11 heads of state of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation.

Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski is a member of the official delegation.

At Sofia Airport Dr. Zhelev told journalists that the Bucharest meeting will review the organization's activities since its establishment in 1992, and an attempt will be made to establish more specific ways of implementing its goals. The president pointed out that, unfortunately, the real actions are very few. On the other hand he pointed out that Bulgaria is developing good relations with all participating states.

Turkey's Inonu Ends Visit, Plans Demirel Visit

AU2906181795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 29 June the official visit of Turkish Foreign Minister Erdal Inonu to Bulgaria ended.

Foreign Ministers Pirinski and Inonu gave a news conference on the more important results of the visit.

The visit by Turkish President Demirel to Bulgaria from 4 to 6 July has been prepared. A meeting between Prime Ministers Videnov and Ciller, and a visit of Foreign Minister Pirinski to Ankara have been agreed upon in principle. A mechanism on resolving disputable issues of humanitarian and social character has been created.

Earlier today at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a protocol was signed on exchanging the ratification documents of the Bulgarian-Turkish Treaty on Friendship, Goodneighborly Relations, Cooperation, and Security.

Minister Inonu also met today with National Assembly Chairman Blagovest Sendov, the National Assembly Commission on Foreign Policy, and all parliamentary factions. [passage indistinct]

Signs Cooperation Protocol

AU2906135795 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 29 June at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a protocol was signed on exchanging the ratification documents of the Bulgarian-Turkish Treaty on Friendship, Goodneighborly Relations, Cooperation, and Security. The protocol was signed by Georgi Pirinski and Erdal Inonu, the two countries' ministers of foreign affairs. A protocol on furthering bilateral relations was also signed.

Japan Offers Safety Equipment for Kozloduy Plant

AU2906141395 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 26 Jun 95 p 7

[Article by Eleonora Petrova: "Japanese Technologies Will Improve Nuclear Safety in Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia—Representatives of the Japanese Ministry of Industry and Technologies, the Japanese Agency for Scientific and Technical Development, and various electricity companies have proposed signing a cooperation agreement with Bulgaria in the field of the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

This was announced by Yanko Yanev, chairman of the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, following the conclusion of the conference of the Japanese Association for Nuclear Safety and Nuclear Research in Tokyo. The meeting also discussed the continuation of the program for training Bulgarian nuclear safety specialists from the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, and Energoproekt.

According to Yanev, the agreement will facilitate the transfer of many Japanese technologies that will enhance the nuclear safety standards in the nuclear power industry, medicine, and agriculture. Both countries have

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guaranteed that they will scrupulously observe the Nuclear Weapons Nonproliferation Treaty.

The Japanese specialists became familiar with the state of nuclear safety at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant during the reactor-modernization program that started three years ago. They have also shown interest in the future nuclear power plant at Belene.

Union Leader Views Relations With Cabinet

AU2906141995 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 26 Jun 95 p 10

[Interview with Professor Krustyu Petkov, president of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, by Sonya Gulubarova; place and date not given: "Finance and Social Welfare Ministers Are Foreign Bodies in the Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Gulubarova] Professor Petkov, how do you expect relations between the trade unions and the cabinet to develop?

[Petkov] As far as we are concerned, the scandal aroused by the cabinet's unilateral and illegitimate decision to send a delegation of the Community of Free Trade Union Organizations in Bulgaria [CFTUOB] to the International Labor Organization [ILO] meeting in Geneva has now blown over. We find the decision of the Accreditation Committee completely satisfactory in that it disputed that the CFTUOB was a representative body in Bulgaria and disapproved of the manner in which government made its decision. The committee ruled that the decision breached the ILO's statute and the internal agreements regarding rotation and consultation with the most representative trade unions. We lost face as a country, but, on the other hand, it was a victory for democracy, and international standards were observed.

[Gulubarova] Do you still believe that the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] can stay in power until the end of its term?

[Petkov] It is logical for it to complete its full term in government, and I think that the local elections will confirm my prediction. On the question of how many cabinets the Democratic Left will appoint, Aleksandur Lilov is likely to prove to be most correct. Four months ago, he said a strong ruling party should not be worried about having several governments during a single mandate.

[Gulubarova] Will the KNSB [Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria] demand a cabinet shuffle?

[Petkov] Some of our members do call for this, but the issue of replacing one or more of the ministers will be decided by parliament, and everybody knows who wields the voting power there. The Democratic Left has the sovereign right to assess the actions of each of its ministers. We can state our view about which ministers are showing themselves to be the toughest opponents of the trade unions and are pushing the cabinet to needlessly exacerbate the situation. There is no doubt that the minister of labor and social welfare is bad at concealing his antitrade union stance, and the finance minister is no less an antiunionist. We consider that they are foreign bodies in the Democratic Left's government, because they preach a monetarist philosophy that significantly diverges from the cabinet's previously declared social program and financial policy. Although he conceals it with a thicker smokescreen, Deputy Prime Minister Doncho Konakchiev is also emerging as an opponent of the trade unions. Unfortunately, despite our good relations with individual deputies in the Democratic Left Parliamentary Group, the group's leadership has a negative attitude toward us. Our invitations to meetings have been rejected with disdain.

[Gulubarova] What is the greatest weakness in the cabinet's work during the last five months, and what is the biggest result?

[Petkov] The cabinet's main weakness is its confrontational and forceful style of government. If it continues like this, it will lose all its allies and sympathizers. In a number of its acts, the cabinet has already started on the road toward isolation in the international community. Everyone must be aware that the European Union has tacitly given the new rulers no more than a year to prove that they are a democratic political force. If they fail to do so, the EU will review its attitude toward Bulgaria, which includes reassessing the agreements already signed. For the time being, the government still gives us grounds to hope that it will complete the privatization, both the workers and management privatization and the social one. But the postponement of the deadlines, the narrowing of the horizon, and the restriction of access for foreign investors are not good signs. The government would do well if it were to oppose the naked corporate interests that dictate various administrative decisions. It is high time for it to take the next step, namely to get antimonopoly and antitrust legislation passed in Bulgaria and to draft and publicize the rules of the game for all the active players in the economy.

[Gulubarova] What dividends do you expect from tomorrow's protest rally, in which you will be joined by the Podkrepa Labor Confederation? People say that you want to use it to increase your depressed rating among the public.

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[Petkov] The popularity ratings of the KNSB and I, personally, are quite good, as the surveys made by the National Center for Public Opinion Research show, and there is no need to increase them further. Quite the reverse, after the rally, we expect both the Confederation's and my own personal ratings to fall because of the contradictory interests in society. However, we must take the risk so to derive purely trade union dividends, to start serious and responsible negotiations on the five demands we have presented to the government, to achieve a total change in the present monetary policy relating to incomes, and to halt the decline of incomes.

[Gulubarova] Recently it has been asserted that the trade unions have lost their power and influence, and no one predicts a good future for them.

[Petkov] These statements and writings come from paid "specialists," some of whom call themselves political analysts and others sociologists. Both groups have no connection with objective science. A true idea of our strength can be provided by the organizations and members who stay with us, their role in the social dialogue, and their influence on the reform. Since over 1 million people are still with us, we must be attractive and strong. Our joining of representative international organizations, such as the European Trade Union Confederation and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, provides a further effect, namely it makes it impossible to disrupt us or to destroy us on the domestic front. Anyone who attempts to weaken us or to detach any of our member organizations will have to work in isolation, rejected by the democratic structures in Europe and throughout the world. I am optimistic about the trade union's future in the next 10 to 15 years. The time of the party trade unions has receded irrevocably into the past. Anyone who believes otherwise is a political dinosaur.

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Visegrad Four Meeting Hardly Noticed

95CH0273B Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13 Jun 95 p 5

[Article by Timea Spitkova: "Visegrad's Usefulness in Doubt"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Czech Republic again snubbed efforts to create institutional links among the Visegrad Four countries at a May 30-31 conference in Budapest. But this time, few observers took notice or cared.

The defense ministers of Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and the Czech Republic met in Hungary to discuss integration into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It was the first such meeting attended by a Czech minister of defense.

"Our country wants to communicate with these countries, but this doesn't mean that we share the same beliefs," Defense Minister Vilem Holan told reporters. "We don't want to create any kind of institution."

In February 1991, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia created a loose regional group in a meeting at Visegrad, a scenic Hungarian town near Budapest. It was the united stance of the three nations that persuaded Moscow to put a formal end to the Warsaw Treaty Organization and Comecon.

More recently, though, the Czech Republic has stressed individual policy. The republic's reluctance to form closer links with its neighbors has led to some criticism.

Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus has been the key opponent to closer Visegrad links. "If (Visegrad) is an instrumental adjective, we do not mind," Klaus said during a May 4 speech in Washington, D.C. "If it is, however, an attempt to artificially push the countries in question together again, to create new regional institutions, to form nongenuine integration, then it is a mistake."

The Czech Republic has cooperated in efforts to obtain Western economic aid and to ease expected entrance into the European Union and NATO. In January, the countries agreed to cooperate in the areas of civilian and military air space in order to win U.S. funds for equipment modernization.

Foreign observers aren't sure how far Visegrad cooperation should go or how useful the union might be for members.

"Cooperation with other countries in the region is one way of proving that the country will be capable of cooperation within NATO," said Gavin Buchan, political affairs officer at Prague's Canadian Embassy. However, other analysts believe that Visegrad has outlasted its usefulness.

The Visegrad group is an artificial organization that has never worked, said Zbigniew Lewicki, director of international relations and security at the Prague-based Institute for East-West Studies.

A NATO representative, who asked not to be named, said group nations are focused on bilateral efforts. "There is not much of an effort," he said, "to improve multilateral links."

Klaus Describes Opinion Differences in Coalition

AU2906183095 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Jun 95 p 3

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Eva Martinkova; place and date not given: "The ODA Always Wants To Have a Different Opinion Than the ODS"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Martinkova] The government may have agreed with your course of action in resolving the railroad workers dispute, but the representatives of the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] in the government—Vladimir Dlouhy and Jan Kalvoda—would, apparently, have proceeded differently. In your opinion, what consequences would their course of action have had?

[Klaus] I do not think they would have acted differently. I think they only speak differently ex post; that is cheap and it annoys me immensely. We discussed this for a long time in the government on 21 June. In a genial situation, when there is no longer the threat of a strike, it is very easy to say that, of the 100 little steps taken, the 94th could have been taken a bit more to the left or a bit more to the right. Moreover, I declare that, when I met with the deputy prime minister and the transport minister, Deputy Prime Minister Kalvoda did not express any objection to the given course of action. I consider it to be 10 times more unfair that he then goes and expresses his objection—in an "ODA-like" cheap and false manner—to the mass media.

[Martinkova] Is the coalition still functional inasmuch as ODA has a different opinion from that of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] on virtually all of the important, and even on the less important, issues?

[Klaus] I do not think ODA has a matter-of-fact kind of different opinion. It adopts a different opinion just because the ODS has another one. So, if the ODS were, by chance, to change its opinion by 180 degrees, ODA would form an alternate view. This is a contrived difference of opinion, not a matter-of-fact one. [passage omitted]

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Officials Admit Tension Growing

AU2906200095 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 24 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by Premysl Svora and Miroslav Korecky: "Relations in the Coalition Are Tense"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA], Civic Democratic Party [ODS], and Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL] representatives think that relations within the governing coalition are tense, and they are concerned that the government will not push through any important laws during this electoral period. Despite this, however, they hope it will last in this composition until the parliamentary elections.

ODA Chairman Jan Kalvoda thinks the coalition's conduct a year before the elections is unwise. "I do not know how many times a cat has to burn its nose on a hot stove before it learns," he said to LIDOVE NOVINY correspondents. According to him, it is not right if one of the parties looks for numerous opposition partners to endorse various laws without attempting to reach an agreement within the coalition. "We will not be able to promote anything important this way," he said. Kalvoda would like the present coalition, despite its current disputes, to last and be functional.

ODA Deputy Chairman Vladimir Dlouhy considers the multiplying clashes of opinion in the coalition a year before the elections to be a natural phenomenon. "However, it should not lose its ability to act until the end of the electoral period," he said. Dlouhy also conceded that the disunity discernible from the public statements of coalition politicians on individual issues is to blame for the decline in support for the coalition and the rise in support for the Czech Social Democratic Party.

According to the chairman of the ODS Deputies' Club, Jiri Honajzer, the coalition's functionality cannot be judged only on the basis of recent events. "It is obvious that the weight of the coalition's three years of functioning and a demanding parliamentary year are being manifested in the antagonism among some of its members. Perhaps we are really all tired," he said. Although Honajzer is, in his own words, an incurable optimist, he does not know if the coalition will manage to push through anything before the elections. "I hope the awareness of their responsibility for the functioning of this country will induce all of them to act circumspectly," he added. According to him, the ODS will do all it can to ensure that the coalition lasts.

KDU-CSL Deputy Chairman Jan Kasal also considers the situation within the coalition to be tense. "It is too early to say more fundamentally whether we are capable of agreeing on anything because the situation is indeed grave," he said. "I would be glad, however, if we could free ourselves of the tension that now prevails within the coalition and could look at each issue from a matter-of-fact and not a narrow party level," he added.

Poll Confirms ODS, CSSD Dominance on Scene

AU2906200195 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Jun 95 p 2

[Report by "(bed)": "It Is Confirmed That the ODS and the CSSD Have the Most Support"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Center for Empirical Research (STEM) announced its most recent opinion poll results yesterday. According to them, in parliamentary elections the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] would win 27 percent of the vote, and the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] would win 21.5 percent. Some 8.6 percent of respondents would vote for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia [KSCM], 7.3 percent would vote for the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA], and 7.1 percent would vote for the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party [KDU-CSL]. The Left Bloc [LB] comes sixth in STEM's June poll (2.3 percent). On the basis of their replies, 63 percent of the poll's respondents would quite definitely take part in the elections, 22 percent have not decided, and 15 percent would refuse to take part. It seems, according to STEM, that the voters' favor has stabilized considerably. In comparison with with the May poll, the only more significant decline in support recorded was for ODA, by approximately 2.0 percent.

[Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech on 28 June on page 2, under the headline "The ODS and the CSSD Dominate Our Political Scene," carries a 300-word report by Ivo Drahos on the same STEM opinion poll results. This report, however, also carries the following table:

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June Electoral Support in Percent

ODS	27.0
CSSD	21.5
KSCM	8.6
ODA	7.3
KDU-CSL	7.1
LB	2.3
Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia	2.0
Free Democrats (Civic Movement)	1.9
Green Party	1.5
Democratic Union	1.4
Bohemian-Moravian Center Party	1.0
Other parties	2.6
Nonvoters	6.1
Undecided	9.0

Jun Poll Suggests Havel Most Popular Politician

AU2906145395 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 23 Jun 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "IVVM: Havel Is Ahead of Dlouhy for the First Time"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—President Vaclav Havel has reached the top of the political popularity charts this month for the first time. He is supported by 76 percent of citizens and has thus overtaken Vladimir Dlouhy, who is supported by 72 percent. This is apparent from a June poll conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research. In June, only Czech Social Democratic Party Chairwoman Petra Buzkova, with 42 percent, gained in popularity; confidence in her rose by 8.0 percent in March and June. On the other hand, support for nine politicians has declined. They are: V. Dlouhy, J. Dienstbier, J. Zieleniec, J. Strasky, I. Kocarnik, P. Tigrid, J. Kalvoda, I. Pilip, and M. Sladek. So, according to the poll, only four politicians were supported by more than 50 percent of respondents in June: Vaclav Havel (76 percent), Vladimir Dlouhy (72), Jiri Dienstbier (61), and Josef Zieleniec (55).

Central Bank Announces Anti-Inflationary Measures

AU2906125995 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 23 Jun 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Martin Jasminsky and Pavel Richter: "The Czech National Bank Has Adopted Restrictive Monetary Measures Because of Its Concern Over Inflation"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Yesterday, the central bank made its most important monetary decision this year. Czech National Bank (CNB) Governor Josef Tosovsky told journalists that, as of 26 June, the discount interest rate will be raised from the current 8.5 percent to 9.5 percent, and the Lombard rate will also be raised by one percentage point to 12.5 percent. By making this decision, the CNB wants to send a clear signal that monetary development so far is at risk, and, therefore, the interest on the commercial banks' credits should be raised by roughly 1 percent. "We are concerned that there are already expectations of a rise in inflation, and the central bank would like to thus quell them," said J. Tosovsky. According to him, there are several reasons why the bank has acceded to these measures. One of them is the nature of economic growth, which is driven, first and foremost, by domestic demand. At the same time, our aim is growth of a medium-term nature, which would not have an inflationary form, said the governor.

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Adjusting the obligatory minimum reserves (PMR), which the commercial banks have to deposit free of interest with the CNB, should have a greater influence on increasing interest rates. Instead of the current two PMR quotas (3 percent from the volume of time deposits [terminovane vklady] and 12 percent from on-sight deposits [vklady na videnou]), as of 3 August, a single 8.5-percent rate on all types of primary deposits will be introduced. According to the governor, these changes will mean the removal of about 13 billion korunas [Kc] from the market to the central bank. In the opinion of CNB officials, however, the efficacy of this step will increase up to fivefold under the influence of spin-off effects.

The Banking Council, which approved the measures on 16 June without consulting the government, envisages that the higher interest rates may cause an even more massive influx of short-term foreign capital. "So, we had to adopt regulatory measures in this regard," said J. Tosovsky. Therefore, as of 3 August, the short-term liabilities of the individual commercial banks toward foreign entities will be unable to exceed short-term outstanding claims by more than 30 percent—that is, by a maximum of Kc500 million. Because a number of banks are currently overstepping this requirement, a reduction in the volume of foreign capital in the economy by more than Kc10 billion is, according to the governor, to be expected. The increasing influence of speculative investments this year is having a considerably proinflationary effect. According to J. Tosovsky, in May alone the central bank purchased almost $1 billion on the foreign currency market and has purchased $3.3 billion since the beginning of the year. Thus, we were forced to release into the economy Kc88 billion, he added. [passage omitted]

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 26 June on page 14, under the headline "Monetary Restrictions May Stifle Investment, Claims Klaus," carries a 250-word report by ("jar") and CTK on Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus's reaction to the CNB's measures. According to this report, Klaus thinks that these anti-inflationary measures "may have an unfavorable impact on the investment activity of domestic industry." The report continues: "Each restrictive monetary policy measure, in the prime minister's opinion, complicates investment and makes it more expensive. 'I see unequivocal rapid economic growth that absorbs a good deal of investments, and it would be a shame to apply the brakes to this growth,' said the prime minister."]

Russians Believed Seeking Control of Oil Industry

AU3006125195 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 27 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Sabina Slonkova: "Interior Ministry: The Russians Still Want the Petrochemical Industry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Interior Ministry still thinks it relatively plausible that Russian oil companies, a number of which are linked to organized crime, will try to gain control of the domestic petrochemical industry.

Therefore, Interior Minister Jan Ruml instructed economic counterintelligence, the civilian secret service, and espionage to draw up a report that again gives an emphatic warning about the possible entry of Russian companies into the domestic petrochemical industry.

Ruml's office pointed to this danger last year in its report on the petrochemical industry, when Chemapol and the so-called Czech way of privatization were still in the game. However, the government later gave priority to the IOC international oil consortium made up of the Agip, Shell, Conoco, and Total companies. The Cabinet felt that this option was substantially less risky.

"Now, of course, reliable information has come to light that the negotiations with the consortium are being held up deliberately. Namely, if, in the end, no agreement were concluded with the consortium, other strategic firms would come into the game and the Russians' chances would receive a boost," said a government official who does not wish to be named so that he cannot be accused of influencing the talks on the privatization of the petrochemical industry.

On the basis of this information, Deputy Prime Minister Jan Kalvoda and Minister Ruml agreed about a month ago that it was essential to obtain from the state's intelligence services the most up-to-date analysis of the situation in the petrochemical industry.

Other reports, according to which it is not out of the question that one of the companies in the IOC consortium has already concluded agreements with the Russian oil companies, added to their concerns.

"It could turn out that this IOC company would then transfer its property stake to the Russian side. Thus, the Russians would get in a roundabout way what they have been striving for openly for several years," said an intelligence service officer who took part in drafting Ruml's material.

The definitive verdict on the privatization of the petrochemical industry should be made at the 28 June government session. Klaus's Cabinet is to decide if the IOC

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international oil consortium is really to get the refineries.

Postcommunist Countries Selling Excess Arms

95CH0273C Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13 Jun 95 p 4

[Article by Brendan McNally and Jan Stojaspal: "Region's Excess Weaponry a Big Seller in the Third World"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Just five months before the deadline for bringing arms stockpiles in line with the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty, the Czech Army and other former Warsaw Pact armies are struggling to rid themselves of excess weaponry.

Much of the countries' heavy weaponry is being destroyed. But money is short and demolishing weapons is expensive. As a result, wherever possible, these armies are quietly trying to sell off surplus weaponry to whomever might want it. Usually the customers are Third World countries.

In November, Czech government officials acknowledged that 40 old T-55 tanks had been sold to Cambodia and are now being used against communist rebels.

Cambodia also bought 50 tanks from Poland at the same time.

In March, an aircraft loaded with a shipment of surplus Slovak ground-to-ground missiles was seized in the Azores, an island group about 1,440 kilometers (900 miles) off the coast of Portugal. It had been illegally disguised as medical equipment and apparently was bound for Ecuador, which was at that time involved in a border war with Peru.

Although there was little blame attached, the incident was nevertheless an acute embarrassment to the Slovak government.

But the biggest flap so far occurred late last month when a United Nations report revealed that Poland, probably the most enthusiastic NATO hopeful of the former Eastern-bloc countries, had sold 100 tanks to Iran.

Western nations, particularly the United States, frown heavily on any weapons sales to Iran, which some consider a terrorist state. As a result of the Iran sale, the European Affairs Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee is reportedly considering downgrading Poland's status to the level of Bulgaria's.

The Czech government has come under similar fire several times over the last two years, after revelations that various Czech defense contractors were trying to provide Iran with tanks, stealth radar and a nuclear power plant. The Czechs have steered clear of any recent controversy; there is nothing to indicate that any objectionable sales have been made.

The CFE treaty was formulated during the final days of the Cold War as a way of hastening peace by reducing the size of conventional military forces located in the region spanning from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The treaty went into effect July 17, 1992.

The treaty started with a 40-month period for signatory armies to reduce their equipment stocks to the agreed levels. The treaty does not stipulate how the stocks must be reduced.

"There are many ways to reduce the stocks," said Captain Oldrich Holecek, a Czech Defense Ministry spokesman. "They can be destroyed or converted or used as targets. In the case of military aircraft and helicopters, they can be requalified (as civilian)."

"Or they can be exported," Holecek said.

Of the 1,104 tanks that the Czechs have eliminated, 40 have been sold abroad. Of the 1,385 armored vehicles, 251 have been exported. Of the 1,354 artillery pieces slated to go, 70 artillery pieces have been sold off. Seven combat aircraft have been exported, but unlike the tanks and artillery pieces that went to foreign governments, the aircraft were probably all bought up by wealthy Western businessmen and other private individuals.

The Czech Defense Ministry would not disclose whom the surplus weapons are being sold to, nor would representatives of the ministry say what the asking price might be.

But officials in the ministry do acknowledge that it is a buyers' market right now.

"Right now the market is saturated with older weapons," read an official statement.

According to the ministry's statement, the military still must eliminate another 74 tanks, 237 armored vehicles and 141 artillery pieces by the November deadline.

Tripartite Fails To Approve General Agreement

AU3006101395 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 27 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by "(zv)": "The Tripartite Has Changed Its Name Again, but it Has Not Approved the General Agreement"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Even at yesterday's meeting, members of the Tripartite Presidium did not get round to discussing the draft general agreement for

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this year. "We plan to discuss this next time," said Ivan Kocarnik, the Tripartite's chairman and finance minister, after the meeting. The Council's secretary, Vaclav Vanek, said that the next Presidium meeting is scheduled for the second half of August.

The only outcome of yesterday's meeting is an agreement on the new statutes and rules of procedure for the Council for the Social Partners' Dialogue [Rada pro dialog socialnich partneru] as the Tripartite, composed of representatives of the government, trade unions, and employers, now calls itself. The Tripartite (formerly the Council for Economic and Social Accord) was originally supposed to have been renamed the Council for Social Dialogue, but, at the suggestion of the government, the new name was changed again yesterday.

So, the general agreement, which annually forms the basis for social conciliation in the country, will not be concluded—to say the least—within the first eight months of this year.

Schism Between Catholic Church, Society

95CH0273A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 13 Jun 95 p 15

[Article by Tariq Hager, Prague-based American freelancer who has written for the magazine INSIDE THE VATICAN: "Catholicism Must Take Bold Steps To Regain Czech Favor"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The mixed response to Pope John Paul II's recent visit to Prague points to a deepening schism between the Catholic Church and the rest of society. While more people are converting to Catholicism, non-Catholics are becoming increasingly anti-Catholic.

When the pope visited in 1990, he was greeted by a population that was respectful of Catholic commitment. Under communism, Catholics earned admiration by taking a stance against the system and by adhering to their faith in the face of discrimination and persecution.

Non-Catholics often would attend Mass as a sign of solidarity. Several clergymen, including the Rev. Oto Madr, and the Rev. Vaclav Maly, participated alongside leading activists in opposing the regime. Bishop Frantisek Tomasek enjoyed almost national-hero status. Many Czechoslovak citizens were grateful for the church's contribution to the revolution.

Today, however, more non-Catholics are becoming alienated from the Catholic Church. Issues involving restitution of property have contributed to this trend. One need only recall the storm raised over the restitution of part of the National Theater to Ursuline nuns, and the contested restitution of the St. Vitus Cathedral to the Catholic Church.

Part of the problem is that many Czechs may be predisposed against Catholic doctrine. The seed of this sentiment in our century was sown by the communists, who endeavored to show the Catholic Church as traditionally a power- and money-mongering institution. But Catholicism in Bohemia has long served as a symbol of Habsburg oppression of nationalist strains and movements.

When the pope makes such gaffes as canonizing Jan Sarkander, a key figure of the Counter-Reformation, memories of an oppressive and intolerant past are rekindled.

The Catholic Church should be aware of its ability to alienate secular society. It must redirect its resources by participating alongside other groups—not necessarily religious—in promoting moral issues. The church could sponsor concerts, lectures and other cultural activities for religious as well as nonreligious people.

The church should soften its tone on controversial issues, such as abortion and contraception, to avoid alienating a large portion of secular society. If the church wishes to regain legitimacy, it should concentrate on promoting more palpable moral issues.

The perception of the church's intolerance often turns the laity against Catholicism. Therefore, the Catholic Church must demonstrate its new commitment to tolerance through a more vocal pursuit of the ecumenism and interreligious dialogue already under way. Furthermore, the Catholic Church must not convey itself as an institution guided by business considerations.

If the Catholic Church fails in its attempts at rapprochement with non-Catholic society, it is in danger of losing legitimacy and moral influence.

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President Calls For Unity Before Pope's Visit

LD2906221695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 29 Jun 95

[Radio address by Slovak President Michal Kovac on the occasion of the pope's forthcoming visit to Slovakia; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We will be no doubt reminded by the four-day pastoral visit of a unique personality of the current world, by the visit of Pope John Paul II, about our responsibility for every human soul, for spiritual values in people, for the values understood in the entire world merely by people.

In the few past years, we have faced a number of crossroads and crossed difficult terrains. Many lost spiritual strength, others doubt the purpose of our efforts and fear they will not live long enough to see better times.

It is high time to revive hope, free ourselves of doubts, and keep reminding ourselves of the holy words, often emphasized by Pope John Paul II: Have no fear. The Bible, the Old Testament, and the New Testament, offer a unique method to our European civilization and to all people in the world of tackling and settling on really divine principles all relations between people and God, as well as between individual people. [passage omitted]

Fighting evil and seeking truth and good is one of the most difficult tasks of public officials. I can still hear sentences that penetrated my soul in Nitra at the end of last week at a beautiful evening performance of Suchon's "Svatopluk." I was touched by one of the greatest moral authorities of Slovakia: be united, be human, preserve your faith, learn to cooperate, learn to forgive each other, talk to each other, solve your problems through discussion, do not be disunited—remembering that the first state of your Slav predecessors fell apart because of disunity.

This appeal, to which I subscribe, as well as tomorrow's visit by Pope John Paul II, the messenger of peace, love, and understanding, made me think about this appeal and made me want to do everything in my power to act on it.

I would appreciate it if we all acted on it in this sense: the chairman of the National Council, the prime minister, the president, deputies, officials of political parties, the coalition as well as the opposition, and all citizens. Let us forgive each other and let us make peace with each other. Let us reconcile also with those whom we consider our enemies or those who consider us to be their enemies. Let us respect each other. Let us try to revive trust between us, even if this is not easy for any of us. Let us humbly seek the truth and understanding. I am prepared to engage in a dialogue about all problems, including the most difficult ones. Slovakia deserves to be governed in a decent way. Nobody is without fault, including me as the president. There is no doubt that I, too, have taken wrong steps and committed mistakes.

However, our country demands from us to be level-headed and united. It is never too late to decide to become united and cooperate. In the next few days, Slovakia has a unique chance to achieve a truly historic feat.

I would like to ask all those who feel wronged or whom I hurt, knowingly or unknowingly, to forgive me. I am also prepared to erase any feeling of injustice from my mind whoever it concerns. [passage omitted]

Meciar on Possible Ouster of Kovac by Parliament

AU2906192895 Bratislava SME in Slovak 28 Jun 95 p 12

["Excerpts" from interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by an unidentified NOVY CAS correspondent; place and date not given: "Will 90 Deputies Be Found To Dismiss the President?"—reprinted from 27 June issue of Bratislava NOVY CAS in Slovak]

[FBIS Translated Text] [NOVY CAS] The investigation of Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] petition sheets is starting in Banska Bystrica. Will you insist also in this case that parties that had forged their petition sheets do not have the moral right to be in parliament?

[Meciar] As regards the Democratic Union [DU], it is certain that signatures had been forged. This is a problem with which Slovak society will have to come to terms politically. The matter has not been resolved to this day. DU itself is trying to make as much noise as possible around the issue.... It is another matter when criminal prosecution bodies become involved. Here politics end and any attempt at politicizing the issue would be bad.... As for political conclusions from these activities, there are not any. Neither in our talks with the Party of the Democratic Left, nor in the talks with the Hungarian partics did we devote ourselves to them.... As far as the ZRS is concerned, I cannot assess the issue in any way. What if it is all self-serving? I do not know; I am not the investigator. My impression is, rather, that the affair has been fabricated with the aim of getting the ZRS and DU to the same platform, so as to allow the president to halt proceedings against both of them. In my opinion, the problem of ZRS petition sheets has been fabricated. Politically, at least, it seems to be the case, but the criminal prosecution bodies are the best qualified to assess this. We cannot anticipate

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the outcome of the investigations. In the case of DU, we know for sure that it does not have 10,000 [valid] signatures. In the case of the ZRS, this has not yet been proved.

[NOVY CAS] In connection with Slovak President Michal Kovac, you recently said that the problem concerning his resignation would be resolved in parliament and that parliament would assess "whether conditions have been met for his dismissal, or for shortening his term of office by means of a constitutional law." Ninety votes are needed for that. Should you not succeed in winning the support of 90 deputies, do you concede the possibility of a referendum being called on Kovac's remaining in office?

[Meciar] There is no reason to hurry. Time is not working against us. Time only clarifies positions of some people. If a wave of sympathy arose in a certain period, now will come the time for facts, which will decide. The solution is in the hands of parliament. If parliament is willing to adopt a solution, I see no reason for us to speak about extraparliamentary forms. Much also depends on whether Mr. Michal Kovac will be able to change his conduct in the post of president of the Slovak Republic.

Social Security, Apartment Ownership Laws Passed

AU3006072795 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 24 Jun 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Dobroslava Krajacicova and Miroslav Sasky: "On the Basis of Jan Luptak's Proposal, Pensions Will Be Raised 8.2 Percent as of 1 July"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—Yesterday, on the third day of its eighth session, the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] approved, among other things, the bill on increasing pensions. The deputies approved Jan Luptak's proposal that the pensions be raised 8.2 percent (instead of the originally proposed 7.8 percent) as of 1 July 1995. Of the 122 deputies present, 120 endorsed the bill, one deputy abstained, and one did not take part in the vote. According to the approved bill, the highest pensions in individual categories will be raised as follows: from 3,540 korunas [Sk] to Sk3,830, from Sk3,640 to Sk3,940, from Sk4,070 to Sk4,400, and from Sk4,660 to Sk5,040. [passage omitted]

Law on Social Security Amended

The NRSR plenum yesterday also approved an amendment to the law on social security, which concerns pensions that are the sole source of income. All 128 deputies present approved the passage of the amendment, under which pensions that are the sole source of income will be adjusted to 1.15 times the minimum subsistence level—that is, to Sk2,507 for individuals and Sk4,428 for couples. The amended law will go into effect on 1 September 1995. The financial impact of the amendment on the state budget will represent until the end of the year the sum of Sk563.472 million.

Citizens Need Not Buy Their Apartment

The NRSR also approved a government-sponsored amendment to the law on the ownership of apartments and nonresidential premises. The amendment introduces several significant changes to the text of the law. First and foremost, it abolishes the obligation to transfer the ownership of family houses owned by legal persons for prices set by the law. If the seller and buyer agree on the purchase price of an apartment before 1 August 1995, the method of calculating the price listed in the amendment will not be used. The price of the apartment is agreed by the seller and buyer but must not be higher than that set by the law. According to the amendment, a citizen need not fear that he will have to vacate his apartment if he does not buy it. Even if more than 50 percent of the residents of an apartment block apply to purchase their apartments, the other tenants need not purchase their apartments. [passage omitted] Of the 120 deputies present, 74 voted for the amended law, 12 were against, and 36 abstained. The amendment will go into effect on 1 August 1995.

Hungarian Deputies' Protest

The Hungarian Coalition deputies left the hall in protest against the dismissal of four principals of secondary schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction. The protest statement was read by [Coexistence Deputy Chairman] Arpad Duka-Zolyomi. The Hungarian Coalition deputies' absence from the session lasted 30 minutes. A.D. Zolyomi said that the government was implementing its program of restrictive ethnic policy, particularly in the sphere of education and culture. [passage omitted] He did not rule out that they will inform international organizations about the government's steps in the sphere of education. [passage omitted]

Council Passes Minor Bills, Adjourns Until Jul

AU2906183395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 28 June on pages 1 and 2 carries a 1,000-word report by Ivan Samel, entitled "Eighth Session of Parliament Adjourned Until 11 July," on the 27 June deliberations in the National Council of the Slovak Republic (NRSR). According to the report, NRSR Chairman Ivan Gasparovic first briefed the MP's on a letter from the Slovak Television management on the "suspension of live relays" from

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parliament for reasons of high cost and because Slovak Television must "prepare" its equipment for the arrival of Pope John Paul II on 30 June. Furthermore, parliament approved the "Law on Food," which "concerns the safety, hygiene, and quality of food from the viewpoint of consumers' health, defines the organizational structure and powers of food inspectors, and lays down principles for the production, storage, sale, and handling of food." The agenda of the 27 June session also included three bills concerning land ownership, two of which were passed: The "Law on Real Estate Registry," which "defines the method of recording real estate ownership rights," and the "Law on Land Communities" (no details are provided). The third bill, "on measures concerning the settlement of land ownership," provoked a heated debate, according to Samel, and parliament decided to postpone the vote on it until after various proposals for changes are incorporated into the draft. Opposition deputies reportedly objected to the "excessive preferment of state ownership rights" provided for in the bill, particularly to a provision allowing the state to acquire land to which no heir lays claim within one month.

Following a general debate, Samel says in conclusion, the coalition clubs of deputies requested an intermission, whereupon NRSR Deputy Chairman Marian Andel, who chaired the meeting, "adjourned the eighth session of the NRSR until 11 July."

New Intelligence Chief Reportedly Worked in Libya

AU2906115195 Bratislava SME in Slovak 28 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by "pt": "Rudolf Ziak, Former Stara Lubovna District Office Chairman, Is Supposedly Intelligence Service Chief"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Ivan Lexa, director of the Slovak Information Service (SIS), refuses to make public the name of the chief of the SIS Intelligence Service. So far, only the name of the chief of the SIS Counterintelligence Service has become publicly known. It is Jaroslav Svechota, a former StB [communist-era secret service] officer who, after 1989, worked in Vladimir Meciar's government as deputy minister of interior and, later, as director of the Bratislava branch of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy. As we have managed to learn from a source close to SIS, the person appointed to the post of director of the Intelligence Service, or entrusted with its management, is Rudolf Ziak. In December 1994, following the installation of Vladimir Meciar's government, Rudolf Ziak was appointed chairman of the Stara Lubovna District Office, only to be recalled from that post in April 1995 at his own request. As the same source told us, before November 1989, Rudolf Ziak supposedly spent four years working in Libya.

Hungarians Commit 'First Act of Civil Disobedience'

AU3006130695 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jun 95 pp 1-2

[Article by "da": "Galanta Secondary School Without Students; First Act of Civil Disobedience"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Galanta/Komarno—None of the 450 students of the Hungarian-language secondary school in Galanta came to school yesterday. They all stayed home, on the basis of a decision of the school's parents association, in protest against the dismissal of the school's principal and the introduction of alternative—that is, bilingual—education, which the parents unequivocally reject. [passage omitted]

The first act of civil disobedience, heralded by Hungarian parents and teachers at their meeting in Komarno on 22 April, has thus started. According to Zoltan Sido, chairman of the Union of Hungarian Teachers in Slovakia, protest rallies will be staged in Samorin, Dunajska Streda, Sturovo, Galanta, Sahy, Velky Meder, Filakovo, and Kralovsky Chlmec this evening to express disagreement with the alternative education project being enforced by the Ministry of Education and the dismissal of four principals of Hungarian-language secondary schools. In some schools, such as the Hungarian secondary school at Samorin, students probably will not pick up their report cards as a sign of protest. The Government Council for Ethnic Minorities is expected to discuss the problem and the escalated situation at a meeting today, in the presence of the relevant ministers.

New Hungarian Party Seen as HZDS 'Fifth Column'

AU3006121695

[FBIS Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers of 28 and 29 June publish items suggesting that the Hungarian People's Movement for Reconciliation and Prosperity (MLHZP), the formation of which was announced earlier this year, could serve as the "fifth column" of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) within the Hungarian ethnic minority.

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 28 June on page 2 carries a 50-word TASR report on a meeting between unnamed "HZDS and MLHZP representatives" in Bratislava on 27 June, during which they reportedly "discussed cooperation between the Slovak nation and ethnic minorities" and "assessed possibilities of mutual

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cooperation in enhancing stability and prosperity of the Slovak Republic."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 29 June on page 4 carries a 500-word commentary by Ondrej Dostal entitled "Meciar's Hungarians on the Scene." Commenting on the above meeting, Dostal says: "Vladimir Meciar and the HZDS have already managed to rally around themselves almost everything—a farmers' party and a green party, Social Democrats and Christian Socialists, businessmen and writers, alternative quasi trade unionists, and the most genuinely Slovak intelligentsia. It serves as proof of their political talent that today they also have their own Hungarians."

"It is no coincidence," Dostal says, that "the first Slovak entity with which the emerging MLHZP has met was the HZDS. The Hungarian political entity thus confirmed the original expectations that it would become the mouthpiece of the prevent government coalition within the ranks of the Hungarian minority."

Dostal goes on to review the MLHZP's brief history. He points out that, "for a while," it seemed that the MLHZP would evolve into a "left-wing Hungarian minority party," which is absent on the Slovak political scene, as the four existing Hungarian minority parties (Coexistence, Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, Hungarian Civic Party, and Hungarian People's Party) all see themselves as centrist or right-wing. Following the departure of Alzbeta Borzova and other former Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) members from the MLHZP Preparatory Committee, however, "it quickly transpired that the intentions of the initiators of this project were different," Dostal says.

Dostal concludes the commentary by saying: "It is doubtful whether demand exists among Slovakia's Hungarian minority for a party fraternizing with Slovak nationalists. Such a party would have to be perceived by Hungarian voters not only as a fifth party, but also as a fifth column. That is the MLHZP's own problem, however."

Public Administration Employees Protest Dismissals

AU2906124295 Bratislava SME in Slovak 28 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by "r": "According to the Trade Union of Public Administration Employees, the Situation in State Administration in Slovakia Continues To Deteriorate"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—"The Presidium of the Slovak Trade Union of Public Administration Employees [SLOVES] notes with regret that the situation in state administration bodies continues to deteriorate," says a statement by the aforementioned trade union organization that was signed by Igor Lensky, SLOVES chairman, yesterday. The statement goes on to say that the wave of dismissals of senior personnel has now reached regional financial authorities. The statutory representatives of the director of the Central Internal Revenue Directorate for Nitra and Trnava, and the directors of internal revenue offices in Spisska Nova Ves, Levoca, Prievidza, Trnava, Nove Zamky, Galanta, Komarno, Vrable, Piestany, Svidnik, Gbelce, Gelnica, Sabinov, Rimavska Sobota, Topolcany, and Senec have been dismissed in the past two months, and the dismissal of the director of the Lucenec internal revenue office is being prepared. The SLOVES statement stresses that "the sphere of tax administration is one of the most sensitive areas of public administration, from the viewpoint of both the citizen and the state. Jeopardizing the functioning of internal revenue bodies through politically motivated replacements of senior personnel could destabilize the entire taxation system and endanger the budget interests of the state, with all of the repercussions for the population ensuing from this." The statement recalls the idea from the Second SLOVES Congress (held on 31 May-1 June 1995) that the state should appreciate the human capital it has in public administration employees and realize that only stable teams of employees, improving through practical experience, can make qualified and competent decisions that truly respect the law.

State-Controlled TV Reintroducing 'Censorship'

AU3006113395

[FBIS Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers have recently published several articles on instances of "censorship" on Slovak Television (STV). These cases were also the subject of a 27 June meeting of the STV Council.

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 24 June on page 2 carries a 700-word report by "ol," entitled "Slovak Television Banned Film on Personnel Changes in Districts." According to the article, Rudolf Ferko, chief editor of the STV Main Editorial Office of Current Affairs and Documentaries, decided on 19 June that a documentary on "cadre changes" in Povazska Bystrica and Topolcany districts that was to be broadcast on the STV 1 channel on 28 June at 2130 "will not be shown." The documentary was to be the first feature in a new series, called "Accent," prepared by a newly established "group for investigative and analytical journalism." The SME reporter, who saw the documentary, stresses that the authors' approach was balanced and that both sides—the dismissed and the newly installed officials—were given equal space. He believes that "the main reason for the television censorship probably was that, while the representatives and sympathizers of the present op-

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position came across as cultivated, the representatives of the coalition often made the opposite impression."

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 26 June on page 4 carries a 500-word commentary by Ondrej Dostal entitled "Into Depth and Into Width." Commenting on the STV's decision not to show the documentary on postelection purges in the state administration, Dostal says: "While until now it has been possible to accuse the STV of lacking professionalism, being dull, covering news in the style of socialist realism, being servile toward the government, ignoring the opposition, and suppressing inconvenient facts, last week has surpassed all this: Five and one-half years after November 1989, unadorned censorship has returned to Slovakia."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 27 June on page 7 carries a 1,300-word article by Ivan Podstupka entitled "The Legal Right To Replace People Exists, but...." The article provides the transcript of a passage from Katarina Zackova's television documentary "How Further...?," the "deletion" of which had reportedly been "ordered" by the STV Main Editorial Office of Current Affairs and Documentaries. The deleted portions of the documentary, reproduced by PRAVDA, deal with recent replacements of senior personnel in district environmental offices, the responsibility for which is attributed to the activity of the coalition's "action quintets" at the district level.

Bratislava SME in Slovak on 28 June on page 2 carries a 200-word TASR report on the 27 June meeting of the STV Council, which reportedly "dealt, among other issues, with cases of alleged censorship of the programs 'How Further?' and 'Accent'." According to the report, the STV management justified its course of action by the "violation of the principles of journalistic ethics, objectivity of information, and the STV program guidelines in the production of both programs." In a statement adopted at the meeting, the report states in conclusion, "the STV Council recommended to the STV central director that it instruct the management of the editorial office in question to air both materials in their original version, along with the STV's standpoint."

Bank Governor Views Scale of Money Counterfeiting

AU2906183995 Bratislava SME in Slovak 28 Jun 95 p 10

[TASR report: "Almost 5,000 Counterfeit Bills in Slovakia in 1993, Only 375 in 1994"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—The improved quality and modernization of reproduction equipment and the worldwide proliferation of organized crime are responsible for the growing number of counterfeit bills in all countries of the world. Their detection is the subject of an international seminar that opened in Bratislava yesterday. It is attended by representatives of central banks from the Czech Republic, France, Hungary, Poland, Austria, Slovenia, Italy, Ukraine, and Slovakia, and representatives of Interpol and the U.S. Secret Service [English term used]. [passage omitted] "A total of 4,919 counterfeit Czechoslovak and Slovak koruna [Sk] bills were detected on the territory of the Slovak Republic in 1993, 4,127 of which were forgeries of stamped bank notes," Vladimir Masar, governor of the National Bank of Slovakia [NBS], said. Because of the exchange of Czechoslovak bank notes for new ones, bank notes' improved protection against being forged, and an extensive information campaign by the NBS, only 375 counterfeit Sk bank notes, with a total value of Sk145,900, were confiscated in Slovakia in 1994. Recently, as a result of the growth of international organized crime in Slovakia, larger numbers of counterfeit bank notes of other currencies have also been getting into circulation. A total of 3,413 counterfeit bank notes of other currencies worth the equivalent of Sk8,349,747 were confiscated in 1993 and 2,359 worth the equivalent of Sk6,635,897 in 1994. In both years, the most common counterfeited currencies were U.S. dollars and German marks [DM], with the $100 and DM100 bills being the most problematic ones.

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Russia Agrees to Full Repayment of Debt

LD2906143395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] By the end of 1996 Russia will repay its debt of almost $1 billion to Hungary. Trade and Industry Minister Laszlo Pal and Yakov Urinson, first deputy to the Russian economic minister, signed an agreement on this, among other things. Erzsebet Kiraly reports:

[Kiraly] The Russian side will fully repay its debt of $900 million—although not in cash—by the end of 1996, we learned from Laszlo Pal:

[Begin Pal recording] They will pay with various products. We discussed all the possible types of products, and preliminary commercial contracts are already concluded. Now only the technical implementation is still to be done. I think that the process of debt settlement will speed up this year. [end recording]

It is also specified in an agreement that the Russian side is prepared to take part in the extension of Budapest's metro lines. This work is worth about $240 million, which would be done as part payment of the Russian debt.

[Begin Pal recording] The ball is in our court. What we have to do now is to reach an agreement with the Budapest local authority whether they require this or not. If they want it, the Russians will do it and work can start in the foreseeable future. [end recording]

The industry minister also said that Hungary's exports to Russia significantly dropped recently. The way Russia will help to solve this problem is included in a document.

[Begin Pal recording] We agreed to launch a special project in order to eliminate the imbalance in our foreign trade. The situation is that we have not been able to offset our imports of energy sources by exports, and this is an intolerable situation. Hungary's foreign trade deficit has been almost $800 million every year. This is a very important issue for us, and it seems that the Russians will be our partners in finding a solution for this problem. [end recording]

The Russian side agreed to commission its energy industry companies for projects which will stimulate their purchases in Hungary. They will try to achieve that gas suppliers buy not only the equipment necessary for gas production but also food, clothing, and buses from Hungary.

Yakov Urinson said that they will do everything possible to achieve that Hungarian goods arrive on the Russian market with favorable conditions.

We only received promises for the repayment of Russia's debt resulting from [Hungary's] deliveries in 1991-92. The Russian side will offer a proposal by the middle of August about the schedule for the repayment of about $113 million.

Delegation to Slovakia Unhappy With Talks

LD3006132295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 30 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian parliamentary deputies who have just returned from Slovakia consider the [Slovak] stand on the education of ethnic Hungarians in their mother tongue to be unacceptable. This was said, among other things, by a Socialist member of the six-party delegation to the "Chronicle" program. Agnes Pap reports:

[Pap] Unfortunately, the opinion of the parliamentary committee is uniform about their talks in Slovakia, said [Mrs. Robert Jakab] the deputy chairwoman of the committee said. Mrs. Robert Jakab described it as positive that they received an answer to every question. She added, however, that they heard very different, often contradictory, opinions depending on the repliers' position. The seemingly sincere partners were—according to Mrs. Jakab, who said she is very sensitive because she is a member of the Slovak minority—incomprehensibly hostile and short-tempered.

It seems to the Human Rights Committee members that the parliamentary speaker and the relevant parliamentary committee chairman knew less than the staff of the relevant ministries. Mrs. Jakab cited this as one of the reasons for the contradictory information. She confirmed a recent statement by the committee's chairman, Gabor Gellert Kis, who said that the Hungarian delegation was not ill-prepared.

Defense Committee Discusses NATO, Conscripts

LD2906221895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The number of Hungarian Army conscripts will further decrease. Zsuzsa Ladanyi reports on the session of parliament's Defense Committee in Kecskemet:

[Ladanyi] The reduction of the number of conscripts by 5,000, which was planned for the first half of the year, will be completed in the Hungarian Army by 1 August. In February 2,000 less conscripts were called up, and in August 3,000 less conscripts will join the army, it was said at the Defense Committee session.

Laszlo Borsits, deputy state secretary at the Defense Ministry, pointed out that a major peacetime reduction

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will be carried out in the land forces. The cuts will concern three motorized rifle regiments, three technical regiments, a reconnaissance company, and an antitank artillery regiment.

As for the air force, fewer conscripts will serve in the antiaircraft missile regiment in Keszthely and the antiaircraft missile brigade in Budapest.

Ambassador Andras Simonyi, spokesman of the Atlantic Alliance in Brussels, told the session that we might be among the first to join NATO in 1998-99. However, Hungary must make certain steps for the transformation of the Armed Forces irrespective of its NATO bid. It must create a smaller and more effective organization. It is an illusion that Hungary can guarantee its defense cheaper if it stays outside NATO, Andras Simonyi emphasized. Neutrality is no alternative either from the political or military sense.

Defense Committee chairman Imre Mecs drew attention to the fact that the country's security was extremely important from the viewpoint of capital investments, therefore we should enter NATO as soon as possible.

MDF Official Views Situation of Minorities

AU2906195995 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 29 Jun 95 p 11

[Interview with Gyorgy Csoti, parliamentary deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum in charge of national minority issues and deputy chairman of the Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, by Jozsef Botlik, at a meeting of the Carpathian-Alps Foundation held in Slovakia's Madaraszhaz; date not given: "Our Constitution Rejects Any Attempt at Assimilation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Csoti] One of the major changes in our region in the past five years is that, after the collapse of communism and of the bipolar world, the life of national minorities in Central and Eastern Europe has become a major security policy factor. In countries where a large number of national minorities are not satisfied with their situation, they can choose between two ways to assert their rights: a peaceful way and a violent way. The peaceful way can be pursued when the national minorities have sufficient understanding and patience to achieve their community rights with legal means and according to the rules of parliamentary democracy and, at the same time, the members of the majority nation feel understanding and solidarity with their fellow human beings, who find themselves in a disadvantageous situation through no fault of their own. These two concepts and forms of behavior met in a fortunate way in Hungary and, thus, there is no conflict situation here. Nor do we expect such a situation. The legal frameworks and the everyday practice that has developed are guarantees of development.

[Botlik] How do you see the situation of the ethnic Hungarian minority living in the Carpathian Basin?

[Csoti] The close to 4 million ethnic Hungarians living in the neighboring countries have been bearing their fate patiently for 75 years, and are trying to improve their situation in a peaceful way, through legal means. The continuation of this approach requires the support of the mother country and of international organizations. If these people are left alone, they will have no other means but radicalization or emigration. We must regard the Hungarian diaspora as a whole spiritually, and this position is a historical responsibility. Hungary alone cannot solve the problems deriving from this; it can only solve them with international support. Of course, bilateral cooperation with neighboring countries is also very important, and subregional and border area cooperation play a considerable role in this, like the Carpathian-Euroregion.

[Botlik] Poland and Ukraine have already joined this cooperation, Slovakia participates in it with some reservations, while Romania keeps its northern counties away from this regional cooperation, namely Szatmar and Maramaros regions, although the people living in this region would welcome such a cooperation....

[Csoti] A lot of problems could be solved if we succeeded in developing a social, economic, and cultural cooperation based on historical traditions in the Carpathian Basin and thus, this region could join the Europe of regions. This would be in the interest of both the Hungarians and the other nations, and it would be some sort of link for European integration. I was glad to hear at this conference the proposal of the mayor of Gyergyoszentmiklos to set up a network of sister towns and communities here. Thus, close contacts would develop between the communities inhabited by Hungarians in Transylvania, southern Slovakia, Subcarpathia, and Vojovodina and the mixed communities beyond the borders.

[Botlik] The situation is different in the successor states of the former Yugoslavia, where the apparent brotherhood between the majority and the minority collapsed. Is violence and war the other way?

[Csoti] Unfortunately yes, because neither side had patience and understanding toward the other. However, Serbia's aggressive attitude was the main reason in this conflict. The international organizations have been unable to stop the inhuman carnage so far. Obviously, it would be simpler to avoid such events all over the region through international cooperation, in places where

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the majority does not show sufficient understanding toward the minority. In such cases, the minorities naturally turn to their mother nations and to international organizations for help, and the international organization must do everything in their power to make sure that people choose the first way, namely the peaceful way to solve the minority issue.

[Botlik] As an official of the NATO Assembly, you prepared a report on the national minorities living in Hungary. What were your main conclusions?

[Csoti] Despite the fact that national minorities only make up 2 percent of its population (according to a 1990 census, they were 213,000 people), Hungary did not declare itself a nation-state, as opposed to the neighboring countries which did that, although more than 5 million Hungarians and other minorities are living there. Our Constitution declares that the national minorities are state-founding factors and, thus, it rejects any assimilation attempt. In addition to individual rights, Hungary also recognizes the community rights of the national minorities here, and a whole paragraph of the relevant law legislated in 1994 deals with this issue. Some minority affairs are dealt with on the basis of the autonomy principle, and the principle of partnership is asserted in practice by the system of national minority local government bodies. The national minorities in Hungary have already set up their self-government bodies, which have broad authority. According to our Constitution, national minority rights should be specially protected, and the national minority ombudsman to be elected soon by Parliament will play a considerable role in this. The authorities in Hungary do not hinder the national minorities in using town name signs and posters in their mother tongue and in using national flags and other symbols, or singing their national anthem. There are no cases of atrocities between the majority and minority population, and the conflicts with the Gypsy population are not ethnically motivated.

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UN: Actions Hampered by Lack of Clear Guidance

AU2906161995 Paris AFP in English 1558 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, June 29 (AFP)—United Nations operations in Bosnia are being hampered by the absence of clear guidance from the UN Security Council, a UN spokesman said in Zagreb Thursday [29 June].

Christopher Gunness told reporters that the United Nations was concerned by the confusion about its mandate and said the deterioration of the existing situation was "unacceptable."

"The status quo means inability to a very large degree to deliver aid, the continuous attack on peacekeepers and, as we saw in the last few days, the warring parties, particularly the BSA (Bosnian Serbs) can indiscriminately shell civilian areas," he told reporters.

He said that UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali had given the Security Council on May 31 a report on Bosnia putting forward four options for the future of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR).

Butrus-Ghali had indicated a preference for the option giving UNPROFOR a realistic mandate that would allow it to contain the situation in Bosnia without raising expectations as to its ability to impose an end to the fighting or as to its engagement in favour of one of the parties.

Gunness called for a clear lead from the Security Council.

"It's clear that the underlined philosophy of our mandate has to be clarified," he said, adding that the recent withdrawal of UN peacekeeping troops from the heavy weapons collection areas around Sarajevo.

"What we have seen in response is the plan for the (Anglo-French-Dutch) Rapid Reaction Force (RRF)," Gunness said. "We hope that this will do something to help us implement our mandate. There are areas of our mandate where the RRF could have immediate application, like the delivery of humanitarian convoys."

"We have to draw up the rules of engagement, to draw up an action plan for this force which will help us to implement our mandate."

He added: "The status quo is not acceptable to the UN. We hope that the RRF will in some degree help us with that."

Vice President Ganic Injured in Car Crash

LD3006092995 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 30 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, was seriously injured in a traffic accident. The accident happened this morning, after 0400, in Visici in the municipality of Capljina when his car left the road and ran into a concrete wall.

Ganic's companion was slightly injured, while the driver was uninjured. Vice President Ganic was taken to the Metkovic hospital and then to a hospital in Split. The cause of the accident is still being established.

Reported in Stable Condition

AU3006113595 Paris AFP in English 1056 GMT 30 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, June 30 (AFP)—Ejup Ganic, a senior member of the Bosnian leadership, was seriously injured in a traffic accident early Friday [30 June], the official BiH press agency reported.

Ganic was taken to Split, Croatia, for medical treatment after the accident which occurred on a road in Bosnia, close to Visic, which is a town in the southwest of the country.

An aide to Bosnia's President Alija Izetbegovic said Ganic was on official business when the accident took place. "He (Ganic) has been taken to hospital in Croatia but he is in stable condition and his life is not in danger," said Kemal Muftic.

Ganic is a member of the unofficial Bosnian triumvirate who steer the policy of Bosnia, along with Izetbegovic and Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic. In addition to being vice president of the Moslem Croat Federation, he is also a member of Bosnia's presidency.

Karadzic Wants Mobilization, Improved Positions

AU2906170795 Banja Luka Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 28 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] President Karadzic had several talks with representatives of the eastern Bosnian corps, businessmen of Semberija, and social and political figures in the Bijeljina municipality. Referring to ceremonies organized in Bijeljina for St. Vitus Day, President Karadzic issued a message to the Serb people and members of the Army of the Serb Republic.

[Begin Karadzic recording] [passage omitted] We have tried to make the celebrations as short and as modest

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as possible in view of the great offensives against us on all the front lines today. Yesterday's program was beautiful and today we were in church, as is proper for Christians, and I have also acquired some information on the situation here. The general situation here is good, very good, but we must take the issue of mobilization more seriously. Within the following month or two we must all be in the Army. We must defeat the enemy, improve the positions on the mountains, and threaten some of their important centers and communications so as to force them to a political solution.

We are under the impression that the international community is waiting for the outcome of the Muslim offensives before it will opt for a political solution. These offensives have mostly been unsuccessful, particularly in the areas important to us, and in the areas that are less important to us, on the mountains, they initially succeeded, but we must punish them drastically, and that is the reason I demand that my order be obeyed concerning mobilization, concerning more seriousness about the serving of alcohol and the working hours of cafes; [passage indistinct], and, finally, to win this war.

[Correspondent] What is your view of the international position of the Serb Republic, that is, our current negotiating position?

[Karadzic] After any drastic crisis imposed on us by the enemy, to which we have always responded like real men and soldiers, our international position improves. After the bombing, we responded fiercely, and the international community started to take us seriously [passage indistinct] and that they would not allow themselves to be defeated and humiliated, which improved our position in the world. I also think that with the new French President Chirac and the new cochairman of the international conference on the international stage, certain conditions are being set for a more rapid resolution to the crisis through political means. There is an increasing number of people in the world who believe that the reality on the ground and the reality of Serb interests must be acknowledged, and if the following conference does indeed take that into account, we will be (?prepared) to end the war.

Karadzic Urges Media 'To Act in Harmony'

LD2906212695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2120 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 29 Jun (SRNA)—A seminar on the functioning of local radio stations and on linking them into a single radio network of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic was held in Pale today. The seminar sponsored by the Information Ministry and Serb Radio and Television [SRT], reviewed specifically the media role in the war.

President Radovan Karadzic, Assembly Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik, Prime Minister Dusan Kozic, Information Minister Miroslav Toholj, and numerous journalists and editors of the SRT and republican radio stations attended the seminar.

Having praised media's significant contribution to the creation of the Serb state, President Karadzic stressed that the preservation of the state was the most important goal at this moment, and he then underlined that it was necessary for all media to act in harmony toward this goal.

The assembly speaker stressed that the most important task facing Serb media was the creation of a single Serbian state, and that when it comes to media, it was necessary to do everything to unify all Serbian areas.

The seminar stressed the need to unify editorial policies and to increase cooperation between local radio stations and the state radio. In this context it was concluded that local radio stations should broadcast daily at least three programs prepared by the state radio.

It was concluded that to secure better ways of spreading information throughout the entire territory of the Serb Republic, local radio stations should prepare once a month a local program, which would then be broadcast by the state radio.

Having mentioned a series of problems, from financial to technical, all participants agreed that there was the need to harmonize the information system in the republic with the state and national interest.

Krajisnik Asks FRG To Overturn RRF Decision

LD2906211695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2020 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 29 Jun (SRNA)—In response to the German Government's decision to send its military units to join the Rapid Reaction Force [RRF], Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic's People's Assembly, today sent a letter to the German parliament. SRNA has received the letter from the Serb Republic's press office and will now carry it in its entirety:

"We have learned about the recent decision by the German Government to provide Tornado aircraft and 1,500 soldiers for the Rapid Reaction Force. From our point of view, this decision could potentially result in the most unfortunate consequences.

"We are convinced that the Rapid Reaction Force is not a peace force and that, judging by their equipment and

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the deliberately vague mandate, they have been set up to carry out military operations.

"No doubt, you know that in the past all UN-NATO aggressions in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina have been directed exclusively against the Serbs. The setting up and deployment of the Rapid Reaction Force again make the Serbs a target of the international community. In the current, very tense atmosphere, the Rapid Reaction Force is a small step on the ladder of escalation.

"It is disappointing, in fact it is odd, that Germany should want to become involved in the adventure of this newly formed force, the outcome of which is, in the best scenario, unforeseeable and in the worst, disastrous.

"First, many Serbs have vivid memories of Germany's role in the Balkans in the Second World War as something that can neither be forgotten nor easily forgiven. Second, German diplomacy bears part of the responsibility for the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and the tragedy of its nations. It has by now been largely recognized that the pressure from Germany for the early recognition of Slovenia and Croatia was a mistake. Third, Germany's active support for Tudjman's neofascist regime in Croatia is another fact that has hardly endeared the Germans to the Serbs.

"Despite all this, I have to say that the Serbs admire the progress Germany has made since 1945 in building democratic institutions and creating a powerful economy. This is why we expect Germany to enrich the world with its democratic, scientific, and cultural achievements. The last thing that would be requested from Germany is military involvement of its troops outside its borders. I believe that wisdom will prevail in the Bundestag and that your representatives will overturn this extremely problematic decision," the letter from the president of the People's Assembly says.

Mladic Fears 'Rogues Within His Own Ranks'

MS3006092595 London INDEPENDENT in English 30 Jun 95 p 12

[Report on interview with Bosnian Serb commander General Ratko Mladic by Robert Block; place and date not given: "Serbs Idolise Bosnia's Bloodstained Warlord"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bijeljina—The Serbian Orthodox church in the Bosnian Serb border town of Bijeljina is a modest, dark-grey building. It is neither ornate nor large. But on Wednesday, 28 June it was the centre of attention in the self-declared Bosnian Serb mini-state.

People, mainly peasants and Bosnian Serb refugees from Tuzla and Zenica, packed the building to celebrate a battle that their ancestors gloriously lost six centuries ago.

The 28th of June is one of the holiest days of the Serbian Orthodox calendar. It is St. Vitus Day, the feast of earthly defeat and heavenly triumph. It marks the day in 1389 when Serbia's Prince Lazar and his forces were crushed by the Ottoman Turks in the battle of Kosovo. The Balkans succumbed to 500 years of Muslim rule.

This was not the real reason why the people thronged the church on Wednesday. They came to catch a glimpse of their modern warrior prince, General Ratko Mladic, the Bosnian Serbs' military commander.

The rest of the Bosnian Serb leadership, Radovan Karadzic, Nikola Koljevic and Momcilo Krajisnik, also were there, but they were sideshows.

As General Mladic left the church, he was mobbed by adoring fans. "He is a god," swooned one well-dressed middle-aged woman. "I would follow him anywhere, through the woods or across rivers. He is our saviour and the greatest man in the world," she added, clasping her breast and looking up at the sky.

The stories that have sprung up around General Mladic have reached such proportions that upon meeting him, one is struck by the fact that he is not a big man. The enormous head and broad face pictured in newspapers and magazines over the years gave the impression of a towering, barrel-chested man. But he is of average height and build, with piercing blue eyes and a pleasant manner.

He is a difficult man to contact. This is a general who eats, sleeps, and goes on patrol with his men. What dragged him off the battlefield into public view at this time of Bosnian Muslim offensives was St. Vitus Day, which is also the national day of the Bosnian Serb Army.

The symbolism for General Mladic is important. For him, the battle of Kosovo has never ended: "St. Vitus Day: That Serbian historic milestone has an epic significance today as well. Around it a veil of legends was spun. It symbolises Serbian tragedy and Serbian glory. Glory because of the unsurpassed heroism of Serbian knights who, although they fell, stopped the powerful Arabic sea which threatened to drown Europe."

There is no difference between past and present for General Mladic. He talks about both in the same breath. For him time is a seamless continuum. The Serbs are still fighting to turn an Islamic tide away from Europe. At the same time, Germany has never abandoned its expansionist aims and now, for reasons which completely escape him, the Americans also want a slice of the Balkan pie.

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"In this area there are several conflicting interests from all over the world," he said.

"The Balkans and Europe as a whole are very much in danger of being Germanised. No lesser is the threat of Islamisation of this area. There is also a big and quite openly expressed wish to have this area Americanised. All of this runs contrary to peace (prospects) and the real interest of the nations inhabiting this area. This land belongs to the nations living here, to Europe."

General Mladic appears to see himself as a solitary knight on the ramparts of European civilisation, fighting to save an ungrateful world.

His vocabulary and manner of speech are that of a simple man who had acquired higher education and was impressed by it. He remains firm in his belief that his army was only responding to war imposed on the Serbian people by its traditional enemies.

"The Serbian people did not want this war but it was thrust upon them like all previous wars," he said.

This appears to explain why he shows no concern for the fate of his adversaries. To him, they are not Muslims or Croats, fighting for self-determination, or a multicultural society, or to revenge the injustices inflicted on them by General Mladic's own soldiers.

For the general, there is a diabolical plan behind action of his enemy. Therefore, the Bosnian Muslims are not fighting to take back some God-forsaken hill in order to control the goat path beneath. They are acting under the instructions of their powerful and obscure masters in Tehran, Washington, and especially Bonn.

"Germany sponsored the war. It turned the Croats and the Muslims against the Serbs and set them in motion to achieve the German aim to Germanise the Balkans," he asserted.

The news that Germany may contribute planes and a hospital to support a multinational rapid reaction force in Bosnia confirms his prejudices and he called the decision "a grave historical stupidity of the sort that, unfortunately, we have become accustomed to in the last few years. I can't understand how there are people who can even consider something like that."

In interviews, General Mladic rarely fails to mention that his father, Nedja, was killed by the Nazi-backed quisling Croatian forces at Bradina, central Bosnia, on his second birthday.

The firmness of his beliefs makes General Mladic intransigent. The end of the war is not in his hands, he insists. Therefore, he cannot and will not do anything to abandon the war while his enemies refuse to admit they are defeated.

"As far as we Serbs are concerned, we are close to the end of the war but the duration of this conflict does not depend on my will or your will, or the will of my people. It depends on the world potentates who want to impose their interest by the force of arms."

The absolute conviction in the justice of his cause, and that he is waging a righteous war, makes him certain that he will prevail. Although he is not completely unconcerned about the prospect of international military intervention, he makes light of the possibility.

At the height of the UN hostage crisis, a international friend warned him that he might have caught a tiger by the tail. "Don't you worry," he replied. "Besides, to me it doesn't look much like a tiger. More like an old nag."

The only enemy that he really fears are the rogues within his own ranks. He is hesitant, however, to name the names of his enemies within the Bosnian Serb leadership or to speak openly of an internal rift with Mr. Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb "president," with whom his relations are said to be very cool. He instead rails against "marginal persons, informers, and highly rated advisers." He has also complained about nepotism and official corruption. Singling out Mr. Karadzic's now disbanded personal secret police, known as the "Typhoon," General Mladic said that it was shameful that the disgraced members of that organisation had been rewarded with businesses and restaurants.

He saved most of his venom, however, for the paramilitary warlords, whom he accused of enriching themselves on the backs of the people.

"They concerned themselves with running around to jewellery stores, banks and well-supplied supermarkets. There is not a single hill that they kept or liberated. On the other hand, our soldiers and officers in the Army lead modest lives."

But he insists that he has no interest in politics. "Many times as a man I pointed out that I have no political ambitions, because I was never interest in politics except when it concerns the Army and the unity of the people." The threat of disunity is the most serious one for General Mladic. He only has to look back to history, as he often does, to see the danger of cracks within the Serbian ranks. Six centuries ago, on that fateful day at Kosovo, the nobleman Vuk Brankovic withdrew from the battle, thus ensuring that the Serbs were defeated. For General Mladic, the battle of Kosovo could be lost again.

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Serb Officer: RRF Fighting Alongside Army

AU2906174195 Banja Luka GLAS SRPSKI in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 95 pp 2-3

[Interview with Major General Dragomir Milosevic, commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps of the Bosnian Serb Army, by Momo Joksimovic; place and date not given: "Attack Comes After Defense"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Who is the man that has crushed all the attacks in this fiercest of Muslim offensive since the beginning of the war? Who is the man that has toward the end of June been giving a lecture in warfare and courage not only to the Muslims and Croats but to the entire world?

Fifty-one-year-old Major General Dragomir Milosevic, commander of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps, educated in military academies of the former army, had not only predicted all the Muslim moves and preempted the intentions of the mentors of the Muslims, but had also arranged the defenses of Sarajevo and the Serb areas around it in such a way that all the enemy attacks over the last 15 days have been crushed, and the Muslims have suffered the greatest losses so far.

[Milosevic] Today, on the eve of St. Vitus Day, the situation in my corps' theater of operations is more than stable. This stability was confirmed four to five days ago when the Muslim offensive was crushed the moment it was launched. Straight after the initial attacks, we stabilized our lines and arranged the defenses against the forces that are again attacking in the corps' theater of operations.

[Joksimovic] It is obvious that the Muslim attacks have been abating over the last few days.

[Milosevic] It is true that it is quieter now than on 15 June, when they launched an all-out attack on us. But we also know that their leaders cannot reconcile themselves to defeat and the situation in which they have found themselves. This deceptive calm is not fooling us, and we are maintaining the maximum combat readiness of all our units. Also we are working very seriously on preparations for counteroffensives to rout them definitely in the wider region.

[Joksimovic] So there will definitely be a Serb counteroffensive?

[Milosevic] Of course! It is our duty to place all Serb areas that are currently under Muslim occupation under Serb control. That is why we are working on the creation of a more favorable deployment of military forces, and more favorable conditions for the continuation of the war.

All the units, corps, commanders, officers, and fighters have displayed high combat readiness and a high level of training. Our forces have been deployed in such a manner that they cooperated extremely well in preventing any Muslim breakthrough. That is why one cannot single out anyone in particular. At the same time it is well known which positions have been coming under the heaviest enemy attacks. This has been particularly true of Ilijas. The units of the Ilijas Brigade have endured a fierce attack, and managed to preserve their part of the front without retreating an inch, not a trench. The pressure on the forces of the Igman Brigade has not been any less intense, or on the facilities defended by the fighters of the 3d Sarajevo Brigade. These are strong and dominant features Jasen, Lipa, and Polo, which are particularly irritating for the enemy. The theater of operations of the 1st Romanija Brigade is more than interesting for the enemy, and it has particular plans for it. To our enemy's misfortune, this has been a hard nut for them to crack, and they have had absolutely no success.

[Joksimovic] Which Muslim forces have been involved in the latest offensive?

[Milosevic] During the planning stage the Muslims turned their entire [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] 1st Corps toward us. Then they brought strong forces from the 7th, 4th, 2d, and 3d Corps, which have been directly under the commands of the commanders of these corps. Something they call their 7th Muslim Brigade has particularly been trying to prove itself here, and it has been transferring from one area to another, trying in a sort of a maneuver to help their forces that were suffering one defeat after another. However, they have been so bad at this that one could see that they have not been trained for that kind of a maneuver. All these activities have been short-lived.

[Joksimovic] Do they again have foreign mercenaries among their ranks?

[Milosevic] It is clear that they have many of them. However, we have information that the forces of the Croatian Defense Council have also been fighting alongside them, as have unfortunately the units of the international Rapid Reaction Force [RRF].

[Joksimovic] Kiseljak has this time been completely unmasked, and the Croats have definitely turned against the Serbs on this front.

[Milosevic] The forces of the Kiseljak Croats have made a fatal mistake this time. That front was not previously active, and it should not have been reactivated, since we could have kept the status quo there without any problems. However, they have decided to fight alongside the

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Muslim forces. This is of course all part of the creation of some sort of a federation of theirs. The Croats have apparently decided that only if they join forces can their federation be implemented. That is where their mistake lies. A federation cannot be created like that, since they have had absolutely no military success in the offensive so far.

[Joksimovic] The international so-called RRF has also revealed what its ultimate goal is.

[Milosevic] These are all incredibly deceptive demands and explanations. Allegedly its only task is to unblock roads for the passage of humanitarian convoys. The essence, however, is in the creation of this new Muslim-Croat state at any cost and by force. The RRF has already been engaged in the fighting, and we have confirmed that it has been active on several locations in a concealed and cunning way. This can be seen in some attacks on us. For example, we know that the Muslims are not such good and precise artillery men. Now they have shown that they are better, but of course with the expert and direct combat support from this RRF. [passage omitted]

Sites of Serb Missiles, Planes, FRY Troops

AU3006112795 Sarajevo LJILJAN in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 95 pp 8-11

[FBIS Summary] The Serbs are incomparably superior in terms of aviation and missile systems. "According to our information, the Chetniks possess the following aircraft and missile potential":

Laktasi: squadron of 10 to 12 MiG-21 jets; six to eight Galeb fighter bombers; 10 to 12 Jastreb fighter bombers.

Prijedor: eight to 10 Utva-66, and eight to 10 Utva-75 planes (multipurpose planes).

Zaluzani: antiarmor helicopter squadron comprising 12 Gazelle helicopters; Mi-8 transport helicopter squadron comprising 14 helicopters.

All of the Chetniks' command posts are equipped with Gazelle helicopters for communications and command, comprising all together 20 helicopters. Another four Gazelle helicopters are stationed in Trebinje, five Gazelle and one Mi-8 helicopter in Pale, and 18 Mi-8 helicopters in Kalinovik.

Furthermore, one Mi-8 and six Gazelle helicopters are stationed at Udbina airport in Croatia, as are an unidentified number of Orao, Galeb, and Jastreb planes;

Gazelle, Orao, Galeb, and Utva helicopters and planes are stationed in Golubovci near Podgorica.

MiG-21 and MiG-29 fighters and interceptors are stationed in Pristina and Ponikve in the vicinity of Bajina Basta.

Serb Volhov rocket systems are stationed in Celinac, Zaluzani, and Manjaca near Banja Luka, one rocket unit in each place. The Serbs also have Dvina, SAM-2, and Neva rocket systems. KUB-SAM 6 rocket systems are stationed in Banja Luka, around Prnjavor, Pelagicevo, and Lukavica. The ones from Lukavica have been moved to the villages of Pavlovici and Tvrdinici.

The Serbs have already extensively used Luna, Orkan, Oganj, and Plamen rockets in combat.

"In view of the turnabout in the war, the Yugoslav Army's General Staff has once again summoned all high-ranking officers; maps have been spread out and red arrows mark the routes via which the Serbian Army is moving into Bosnia. There are four major and a number of secondary routes. The Chetniks are moving toward eastern Herzegovina and Foca along the Podgorica-Niksic route; they are heading towards Visegrad, Sokolac, and Rogatica via Mt. Tara; troops from Loznica and Valjevo are heading toward Zvornik and Srebrenica; from Sremska Mitrovica, Raca, and Bijeljina toward Brcko, Banja Luka, Bihac, and Knin. In the past two weeks alone, since 10 June, 37 tanks, 72 fuel trucks, and 19 rocket systems have crossed the border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia into Bosnia; over 80 helicopter overflights in both directions were also registered."

Volunteers are assembling along the Bubanj-Potok, Sremska Mitrovica, Tara-Zlatibor, and Podgorica-Spuz routes. Over 2,600 Serbs have already arrived in Bosnia. To this figure, one must add another 1,000 troops that have been sent via Visegrad toward Sarajevo, and highly qualified military personnel: 42 officers, two generals, and five colonels. The Yugoslav Army members are bivouacking in eastern Herzegovina and Bijeljina.

Muslims Reportedly Use Poisonous Gases

LD2906225695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1941 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 29 Jun (SRNA)—Muslim units renewed their artillery attacks on the Serb districts of Nedjarici and Ilidza at 1800 using poisonous gases. After the attack a large number of civilians from these districts, especially children and elderly people, sought medical help.

Serb fighters repelled the attack and suffered no casualties.

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Zubak Gives RRF 30 Days To Explain Mandate

LD2906184995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1819 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 29 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim-Croat Federation President Kresimir Zubak said Thursday that multinational Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] would have to leave Bosnia unless their mission was explained within 30 days.

Zubak lodged a protest with UN force commander for the former Yugoslavia Gen. Bernard Janvier over a deployment of a large number of troops around the Bosnian Croat-controlled area of Tomislavgrad without previously explaining their mission or asking for permission from the Bosnian Muslim-Croat Federation.

World news agencies quoted Zubak as saying that these troops, within their current status, would be permitted to stay for another 30 days and that the extension of their stay would call for a permission from competent bodies of the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

Zubak wondered why troops within the Rapid Reaction Force were being deployed almost exlusively in the Bosnian Croat territory instead of being deployed in the Bosnian Serb territory, as well.

Croat Official Views Problems With RRF

LD2906185595 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 Jun 95

[Telephone interview with Slobodan Bozic, head of the office for relations with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, by an unidentified studio announcer; place not given—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] The UN Rapid Reaction Force [RRF] has not been given approval to stay in the territory controlled by the Croat Defense Council [HVO]. Mr. Bozic, what has caused this situation?

[Bozic] I would first like to stress that the cause of all this is the confusion in UNPROFOR's ranks. The Croat side and the authorities of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia, as well as the federation's authorities, have never said that they have banned or even obstructed the arrival of these forces in the territory of the federation and the territory of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia. But we wanted their arrival and deployment to happen with our approval, after we are given answers to the questions we submitted to UNPROFOR representatives, especially the UNPROFOR commander for the former Yugoslavia, General Janvier, and Brigadier General [name indistinct].

[Announcer] Has any progress been made toward a solution?

[Bozic] Over the past week we and Mr. Zubak, president of the federation, had a lively conversation, as well as direct talks, with UNPROFOR representatives. I think that UNPROFOR representatives have not adhered to our agreements, while I can personally say that the Croat side and the federation's authorities fully respected all agreements and obligations we assumed during the talks.

Croats, Muslims Discuss Differences in Kakanj

LD2906191695 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kemal Celebic, head of the interim municipal council in Kakanj, received in Kakanj today a delegation of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina comprising Dario Kordic, chairman of the Croat Democratic Union [HDZ] of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Mariofil Ljubic, president of the constituent assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation; Perica Jukic, deputy prime minister of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia; and Mato Tadicthe, justice minister of the Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosnia.

They discussed the process of implementing the constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and the proposal to set up a Croat municipality in the Kakanj area. Around 4,000 Croats currently living in Kakanj would thus acquire rights in the decisionmaking process equal to their federal partners. The Croat people want to continue living where their roots are, Dario Kordic said. He particularly stressed the problem of forcible mobilization of Croats in the ranks of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army.

It was proposed that study of the Croatian language and a group of nationality subjects be provided as part of regular schooling. [passage omitted]

HDZ's Kordic Views Talks

AU2906201495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today a delegation of the Croat people of Bosnia-Herzegovina visited Kakanj. The delegation was led by Dario Kordic, chairman of the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Mariofil Ljubic, chairman of the Constituent Assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

Senka Jahispahic reports:

[Begin recording] The representatives of the Croat people of Bosnia-Herzegovina were received by Kemal

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Celebic, chairman, and [words indistinct] chairman of the transitional council of the Kakanj Municipality. Following a brief discussion on the [words indistinct], the talks centered on the implementation of the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation in this region.

The Kakanj officials informed their guests about the steps that had already been taken, and then Mr. Dario Kordic, chairman of the HDZ of Bosnia-Herzegovina, addressed the present and stressed that [word indistinct] the Washington Agreement in the region and that everything had to be done to create conditions for the people not only to return home but also to feel at home.

Mr. Kordic said that the Croat people's leadership had heard many good things about the developments in the Kakanj Municipality [words indistinct] in that direction. Mr. Kordic proposed that army conscripts of Croat nationality from Kakanj be mobilized in the units of the Croatian Defense Council and that students of Croat nationality be enabled to study the group of nationality subjects according to the Croatian program.

Mariofil Ljubic, chairman of the Constituent Assembly of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, expressed his satisfaction with everything that had been done in the Kakanj Municipality on implementing the Washington Agreements and stressed that equality had to be respected. He said that there should be as many talks and discussions and contacts with the people as possible and added that it was better to make small steps, but good ones, in the implementation of the Federation, rather than large and wrong steps. [passage omitted] [end recording]

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UN: No Confirmation of FRY Troops in RSK

LD2906185095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1835 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, June 29 (TANJUG)—The United Nations has no information of Yugoslavia's sending troops or heavy weapons to Serb Krajina [RSK], UN force spokesman Christopher Gunness said Thursday [29 June].

Gunness told a news conference in Zagreb that according to UN information, he could not confirm Croatian authorities' allegations that Yugoslavia had of late been ending military aid to the RSK.

Croatian claims about Yugoslav troops' presence in the UN-protected Sector South in the Republic of Serb Krajina were denied Wednesday also by UN spokesman for Peacekeeping Operations Fred Eckhard who said that UN force commander for the former Yugoslavia Gen. Bernard Janvier had informed the Croatian Goverment that he had no knowledge of Yugoslav Army's presence.

Gunness said that UN troops had restricted movement in Serb Krajina and were hampered in performing the mission vested in them by the United Nations.

He said the situation in Croatia was stable, but there were minor violations of the cease-fire agreement reached between Croatia and the Republic of Serb Krajina in March 1994.

Tudjman Returns From New Zealand, Australia

LD2906090095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0700 GMT on 29 June carries a brief report on the return to Croatia of President Franjo Tudjman after his 10-day visit to Australia and New Zealand. The announcer states that Tudjman discussed bilateral relations and Croatian views on the crisis in the former Yugoslavia with the leaders of the two countries.

Briefs Press on Visit

LD2906125695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 29 Jun 95

[News conference by President Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Tudjman is just entering the hall accompanied by Mrs. Natasa Pejakovic, his public relations secretary.

[Pejakovic] Ladies and Gentlemen, Dr. Franjo Tudjman, the president of the Republic, (?will briefly talk about his) visit to Australia and New Zealand, and you can then ask him several questions.

[Tudjman] The visit by the state delegation of Croatia to Australia and "New Zealandia," as our people there like to call it, had two goals: on the one hand, there were official talks with representatives of Australia and New Zealand, and on the other, a visit to the large Croatian community which in Australia amounts to 300,000 people and in New Zealand between 60,000 and 80,000. We had talks with the governors and prime minister of the states of the Australian Commonwealth: Western Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, the central area around Canberra, and with the governor and prime minister of Australia. Among the large cities we visited were Perth, Canberra, Sydney, Melbourne; we visited Sydney twice.

It should be said that in our official talks, we understandably took the opportunity to tell our hosts about Croatia's position and policy as regards topical issues and that there was full understanding of both the Australian and New Zealand governments of Croatia's rights to territorial integrity. In any case, this is reflected in the cooperation between our and their representatives in the United Nations.

These talks provided foundations not just for better understanding but also for expanding cooperation between our countries, Croatia, Australia, and New Zealand, in the economic and cultural spheres. For us, it was very interesting and important to receive unanimous assurances from everyone we talked to, the high-ranking officials in both Australia and New Zealand, who had a very high opinion of Croatian immigrants, as they called them, and Croatian emigrants, as we call them. These people have made a great contribution to the development of modern Australia and New Zealand in the economic, cultural, and sports fields, and in general, of their conduct, constructive attitude in public life, and politics of these countries. The way they, prime ministers, governors, and other people we met, all spoke about them was exceptional.

In addition to my personal talks, Ministers Granic, Mudrinic, Jarnjak, and Deputy Minister Barbic, had, of course, official and separate talks with their counterparts.

I would even go so far as to say that the significance of the visit exceeded the state visit to our country in terms of its importance and in terms of the nature of the reception afforded to our Croatian state delegation by this section of Croatian emigrants in these far-off countries, at the beginning or end of the world, whichever you prefer.

It seems it would be appropriate to say that this visit of mine to Australia and New Zealand has in fact brought to an end the process of the unification of Croatian

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emigrants and the reconciliation of Croatian emigrants. This came out, in particular, during the opening of the embassy building. However, the opening of the embassy building in itself would not have indicated [pauses] if it were not known that Croatian emigrants [pauses] those Croatian emigrants who, in the former Yugo-communist regime, were declared to be the worst, and judging by the statements of the emigrants themselves, they were branded by the former Yugo-communist authorities and their sympathizers and attempts were made to banish them. [sentence as heard]

In their participation, in their constructive, successful participation in the development of the overall social life of Australia and New Zealand, these emigrants have acquired recognition from official circles and from the states. But what they have demonstrated in the building of the embassy and in the procurement of land in one of the best sites in Canberra, a site which a world power was interested in, in the design of this embassy and in the construction of this embassy through voluntary contributions in money and in [word indistinct] and through their voluntary work—this is something which has astonished the Australian public and foreign diplomats.

How this manifested itself when we arrived in Australia. The general view is that Australia has not seen anything like this before. All the politicians there would be very satisfied if something similar were to happen to them at their gatherings. This in itself is really very impressive.

From the elderly people who left at the beginning of this century, and especially those who left Croatia after World War II, but also the young people who have been born there, not only the first but also the second generation, we have heard statements which made a great impact on all of us.

We heard people saying in all places that they would like to return to the homeland. All of us who were there came across people who have applied for work in our government departments, and Croatian Foreign Minister Granic has gained three capable people who immediately applied with their qualifications. Otherwise, they were pleased to hear that the foreign affairs' department so far employs 16 ambassadors and consuls general and over 100 people who were emigrants, and they are continuing to apply for work in all areas.

Both in our official talks with our guests [as heard] and especially at meetings and in talks with our emigrants we, of course, explained Croatia's positions, its state policy, and our economic and political situation. There was absolute agreement among Croatian emigrants over the homeland's state policy, and I do not know whether the media reported this but there is a small group which somehow happened to be running a center which calls itself Dalmatian but the membership of that society is absolutely Croatian. The center supports Croatia's policy, with the exception of a few individuals who are still invoking their regulations from the time of the former Yugoslav community and want to accept as members not just Croats but others as well, including (?representatives) [words indistinct]. But this is only an exception that confirms the rule about the unanimity and interest of Croatian emigrants in what goes on in their homeland and in taking part in building Croatia in the same way that they took part in the setting up and defense of Croatia and in the construction of the embassy building and in setting up consular missions in both Australia and New Zealand.

It was very nice to see that these Croatian people, who are, after all, our representatives there, have become respected to such an extent. For instance, our honorary consul in Auckland Anto Covic, he is on as good terms with ministers, the prime minister, the governor, etc. as one would wish.

During our visit we wanted to see how that civilization there lives and how important it is. Of special interest was the meeting with the Aborigines of Australia and their role in the development of Australia and especially of the Maoris in New Zealand. We were accorded a special honor in that they organized special events in honor of the Croatian state delegation.

All in all, from the state and political point of view, the visit was interesting, successful, and fruitful and from the point of view of contacts with the Croatian community in those countries I dare say it was of historic importance in that it marked the completion of the current Croatian national revival. This is genuinely a revival and this was obvious during the meetings there in which both Croatian emigrants and all classes of emigrants at home [as heard]. In other words, of special interest were our talks about the possible contribution by Croatian emigrants to the efforts to set up business links with the homeland and the possibility of whole families returning, not only those who left Croatia but also those born in Australia and New Zealand. At the same time, the need was emphasized for some problems relating to this issues to be resolved both legally and socially so that when these people arrive, when they express desire for certain areas, they are met with friendliness. We shall have to take special step to ensure that all those involved, including municipal and county authorities and top state bodies, are prepared to tackle successfully all the issues relating to the return of either individuals or entire families. That is all.

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[Pejakovic] Ladies and Gentlemen, your questions now, but please do not [word indistinct].

[Name indistinct] [words indistinct] ...the state of war. At the beginning of May, Serb rockets fell on Zagreb and hit a children's hospital, a theater, and other buildings. Yesterday, the same aggressor used the same method to target the foreign press center in Sarajevo. At the same time, the Serbs in the occupied areas displayed rockets which could threaten both Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Is Croatia capable of undermining these threats, to liberate its occupied areas, if the Serbs do not endorse a peaceful solution by October?

[Tudjman] You stated facts, so on my part I can only confirm this and, like the entire Croatian public, express astonishment that the international public is not undertaking more resolute steps to stop such Serb aggression and such arrogance even toward foreign representatives.

[Nada al-Isa] Nada al-Isa, Bosnia-Herzegovina radio and television. Mr. President, while you were absent, the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] held a news conference at which Mr. Canjuga spoke. A statement by him caused—it may be too strong to put it that way—astonishment in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Canjuga said, and I quote here: The international community's insistence on the wholeness of Bosnia-Herzegovina could be tantamount to the creation of some new Yugoslavia.

I say that this statement was received negatively in Bosnia because it led to the question of what it means bearing in mind that Mr. Canjuga was most likely speaking on the behalf of the HDZ and not in his own name. Is this a hint that Croatia has agreed to some division of Bosnia-Herzegovina? Thank you.

[Tudjman] What Mr. Canjuga said, I do not know. But most likely he had in mind that any idea of a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina was unacceptable for the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, because those who wanted to preserve Yugoslavia and who are still saying on the fringes of international events that Croatia should be restored to some kind of Yugoslav, Balkan, or Adriatic confederation, which is clearly not acceptable to the Croatian nation, are advocating such ideas of a unitary Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Name indistinct] [words indistinct] My question concerns domestic politics. Mr. President, the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia proclaims equal rights to all of Croatia's citizens. However, things are somewhat different in practice. There is discrimination against Croatia's citizens who are not ethnic Croats. This can be seen in schools, in employment policy, and even in sport. That this is becoming legally acceptable can be seen in statements made by some high-ranking politicians. For example: a high-ranking assembly official warned shareholders at a shareholders meeting in Porec to, here I quote, be careful not to sell your shares to Shqiptars [ethnic Albanians] so that they do not take over our factories. My question is: Can this way of conducting politics at this sensitive moment promise a democratic Croatia a bright future in Europe as you advocate? Thank you.

[Tudjman] If such statements were made, they are just individual statements. And Croatia is truly a democratic state safeguarding equal rights to all Croatian citizens, who respect the Croatian Constitution and feel Croatia is their homeland, not just in virtue of its constitutional and legal system but also in practice. Allow me to say to you that you cannot base your conclusions about Croatian politics on the basis of some individual statements.

[Boros] Dragan Boros, GLAS SLAVONIJE. Mr. President, I believe that you know about the strike of Vukovar mothers, who have been on strike on Mark Square for 11 days running. Could you....

[Tudjman interrupts] I have just received them. Indeed, I came here after a meeting with them. They promised to end the strike. Clearly, they wanted to protest to the world against such conduct preventing them from finding out the truth and they expressed trust in Croatian state policies. I promised them that on our part, we will do everything in front of that international public [as heard].

[Tudjmanovic] Jasmina Tudjmanovic, ASSOCIATED PRESS. Mr. President, according to Minister Granic and Mr. Sarinic, people and weapons have been transferred from the so-called Yugoslavia to Sector East in the past few days. Judging by a reply from General Janvier to Mr. Sarinic a day earlier, that is two days ago, it seems that the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] believes that the situation in Sector East and in Sector South are related, but without wanting to do anything until the situation in Sector South is resolved. What is your comment on this? Thank you.

[Tudjman] Like UNPROFOR in its previous mandate, the UN Confidence Restoration Operation [UNCRO] is quite inefficient in its current mandate precisely because the Serb extremists are resisting implementation of UN Security Council resolutions. On our part, we have been constantly asking UN representatives and specifically their representatives here in Croatia whether the new UNCRO mandate will yield some results or not. We would like the UNCRO mandate to be used to start a peaceful integration of the occupied territories. If this is not done, then clearly Croatia cannot tolerate, cannot postpone indefinitely the existence of the occupied

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territories on its internationally recognized territory. [as heard]

[Rajakovic] Mr. Perinic, it is your turn.

[Perinic] Ljeposav Perinic, a member of the editorial board of CROATICA magazine, the only Spanish-language Croatian magazine published in Buenos Aries. Mr. President, it is clear to me that your invitation to Croats in Australia and New Zealand to return to Croatia applies to all emigrants in other states. I speak about the Republic of Argentina. Unfortunately, a very few Croatian families, not more than 10, have returned so far and young people visit Croatia, but it is very sad indeed that a large number of Croatian older people, pensioners, receive only the minimum pension to the tune of $140.00 in Argentina and one cannot live on that amount of money. Many would like to return to Croatia or to visit their homeland. I have a proposition to make: Croatian ships are travelling to Buenos Aries. It should be made possible for these people to visit or return to Croatia. This would be a big humanitarian gesture by the Croatian Government and state, and I leave this to your conscience. Thank you.

[Tudjman] Thank you. The Croatian Government really must do this to facilitate the return of both pensioners and young people. In addition to this, it is particularly important to unburden the pensions by scrapping certain contributions, although they may be justified as far as the health service is concerned, etc., since this calls into question the financial security of these people. We will examine this issue. It goes without saying that the invitation is open to all emigrants. However, your information is not right; there are only 10 families. I have told you that the Foreign Ministry alone employs over 100 former emigrants. I personally know about as many. They are in the diplomatic service, the government, the army, and in business.

Hence the process of the return of Croatian emigrants from all parts of the world has started. There are sometimes problems which are open and which need to be solved in the way you have mentioned.

[Unidentified HINA journalist] Mr. President, what will be Croatia's attitude to Mr. Stoltenberg, given that we have just heard a recording of his statement made in his country's parliament?

[Tudjman] I do not know the details as it happened at the time of my departure [words indistinct], but Mr. Stoltenberg has allegedly denied this statement, and it is possible to call into question the recording. In any case, should there be such a statement, we would be astonished and we would demand that Mr. Stoltenberg clarify the issue, as it questions his credibility in the Croatian public. But as far as I know, he denies the authenticity of such a statement.

[Unidentified reporter] [words indistinct] Croatia has a completely different policy, especially concerning the Washington agreements, the Bosnian-Croatian relations have been very positive [as heard]. The battle to unblock Sarajevo is being waged at present. [Word indistinct] are participating very positively and actively in it. How do you, as a wise politician, see the development of the situation in Bosnia in the light of the latest events?

[Tudjman] I think that the Washington agreements were the first step for resolving the Croat-Muslim conflict, but also for resolving the complex Bosnian crisis, and that the implementation of the federation and the establishment of a basis for confederal relations with Croatia, fragile as it may be, is progressing. As far as I know, there was a Serb offensive against Bosnian Posavina and Sarajevo, i.e., there was mutual action and cooperation between the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army [as heard]. This indicates a kind of cooperation we wish to achieve in order to end the aggression and attain peace once and for all.

[Goranka Juresko from VJESNIK] Mr. President, during your tour of Australia you announced a new electoral law and elections for next year. Could you tell us here in greater detail what that law will be like and what Croatian political parties will be like? Thank you.

[Tudjman] I do not think I spoke specifically about a new electoral law, but I have always believed, ever since the beginning of the democratic authorities in Croatia and the multiparty system in the Croatian parliament, I even discussed it with opposition leaders, that it would be very good for Croatia, as for any other country, if, instead of 30-odd coalition parties which contested the first elections, or nowadays when there are 54 listed parties, if I am not mistaken, that it would be better, healthier, more effective, and more democratic, in the view of solving concrete problems in Croatia to change political life in Croatia, to have several large parties. The large parties, through their programs and influence, could solve all Croatia's problems, both domestic and in the foreign policy sphere, more successfully and more effectively, as is the case in other European and world democratic countries. I believe that processes will go in that direction and that the new electoral law will have to contribute to that.

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Serb Krajina Council Meets, Cancels Exemptions

LD2906134295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1215 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 29 Jun (SRNA)—The Supreme Defense Council of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] stated that the necessary material resources will have to be secured if transformation of the armed forces is to continue, says a statement issued today by the office of the RSK president, Milan Martic.

According to the statement, at the session of the RSK Supreme Defense Council in Slunj yesterday, a decision was approved to cancel all medical certificates of exemption from military service on health grounds and to reassess them.

The Supreme Defense Council fully supports President Martic's assessment that the St. Vitus Day parade of the special corps of the Serb Army of Krajina was successful and endorsed his tribute to all those who made the parade possible.

In addition to a number of RSK Government ministers, the session was also attended by Krajina parliamentary Speaker Rajko Lezajic and by Pavao Marjanovic, governor of the RSK National Bank.

Article Views Conflicts in State Leadership

AU2906181395 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jun 95 p 7

[Article by Ante Gugo: "Are There Any Conflicts or Not?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There are no conflicts within the state political leadership. This was stated recently after a session of the presidential Defense and National Security Council [VONS]. Great! But there has never been any talk about conflicts within the state leadership anyway. So why is a state institution responsible for the most important political decisions now informing us that there isn't what there isn't? It is obvious that the public was not aware that there were some conflicts within the political leadership, but those who are better informed than the average citizen were very much upset about the disputes among political officials. So, fearing that the public might have heard something, they hurried to say that there were no conflicts. And when something is stated at a session of the VONS, then that has a huge importance for political developments.

Yet, the question is whether the statement from the VONS session really was so clumsily formulated as to reveal to the public something that had not been known, or if the purpose of that statement was rather to publicly signal to the quarrelsome elements in the state leadership that they have digressed from the clearly defined political course, and that they can either return there without quarrels or they can stop considering themselves as members of the political leadership.

Valentic's Oscillations

There are several probable sources of conflicts within the state leadership. With some of them it is possible to determine the background, whereas some can only be stated without defining their real reason. Stories about the very concrete dissatisfaction of Prime Minister Valentic, because of the increasing pressure on him to allow an additional issuance of money, fall into the former group. Without wanting to judge whether his economic and monetary policy is justified or not, Valentic's dissatisfaction can nevertheless be dismissed as a possible reason for the statement from the VONS session. Namely, the position of the prime minister is momentarily very stable, since two months ago he reached an agreement with the president of the republic to remain at his post until the next elections. As for the conflicts concerning the exchange rate of the German mark and the very rigid budget, people who are better acquainted with the circumstances say that the confronting of attitudes, opinions, and arguments is an integral part of the prime minister's way of work. Therefore, it is very hard to believe the rumors that Valentic has threatened to resign because of the pressure on him to allow the issuance of more money. Those who created such rumors should remember that Croatia has very firmly specified arrangements with the International Monetary Fund, and that, even if Valentic left, there could not be any significant money issuance or increase in inflation unless we want to break all our credit contracts. There are some on the political scene who would do something like that very gladly, but at the moment they are not strong enough to carry it out. Finally, ever since Valentic has been holding the post of the prime minister, a silent war has been going on between him and the exporters, and yet that has never been a reason for a statement of the VONS to be issued.

Another person associated with the alleged conflicts in the state leadership is Minister of Economy Nadan Vidosevic. Namely, after one Croatian weekly paper, considered to be under the firm control of the state, recently published an article with many details which heavily accuse Vidosevic, the public has started speculating as to whether this might mean a political conflict within the state leadership. The information published in that article is accessible only to very well informed people, of which there are not many. Some even go one step further and claim that such an article could not have appeared in that particular weekly without the support of someone from the leadership.

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So there is the possiblity that a dirty media war has started in the state leadership. Yet these assumptions are rather shaky, since no serious politician would call an editor or a journalist and demand that such material be published, because the very next day, in a moment of dissatisfaction, the same journalist or editor could in the same way present him in the public as a dirty player, which might end a political career even in our conditions. So the open question is: Who stands behind the attack on Minister Vidosevic, and how much truth is there in what was written about him?

Allegedly, this is a conflict between football circles. Namely, Vidosevic is the president of the HNS. The third source of conflicts in the state political leadership is assumed to be the open conflict between Tomislav Mercep and Djuro Brodarac, the governor of the Sisak-Moslavacki district, and the organizer of defense in that part of Croatia.

Mercep's Iskakanja

Since Mercep is a higher-ranking state official, in the position of adviser to the interior minister, and Brodarac is a district governor and a member of the presidency of the party in power, that might be seen as a conflict within the state leadership.

However, that is not all there is to be said about Mercep. ZORA, a biweekly paper behind which Mercep allegedly stands, recently published an article which attacks a higher-ranking state official, an employee of the ministry in which Mercep is also employed. If to that one adds his statements at the recent assembly of the Association of the Volunteers of the War for Homeland, which he heads, in which he nearly threatened certain state institutions because of their insufficient care for invalids and other victims of war, it is clear that Mercep has decided to start a battle against those who do not fit into his concept of political courses in Croatia. Without judging whether Mercep is right or not, it has to be stated that he has strayed from the ordinary practice of conducting state policy. Moreover, he got caught in a very dangerous trap of which Manolic and Mesic, the present HND [Croatian Independent Democrats] leaders, had already become victims.

Their political journey started going downwards the moment they started using media for their conflicts with their colleagues from the state leadership. Therefore this statement from the VONS session could be seen as the last warning to Mercep to start resolving misunderstandings away from the ears of the public, since the state leadership is not going to allow such public attacks of the agencies which care about national security, or disputes between individuals who wash dirty state laundry in public. Since we have now heard that there are no conflicts within the state leadership, it means that the VONS, as the body which makes the most important state decisions, stands behind the work of the state officials, both Prime Minister Valentic and Minister Vidosevic, as well as of those whom Mercep has lately been attacking. If those conflicts continue, someone will have to leave.

Report Views IDS Assembly, Trends in Istria

AU2906151195 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Mirko Urosevic: "Jakovcic and Debeljuh's Platform Have Won"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Buje—Instead of a desired breach among the founders and leadership of the Istrian Democratic Congress [IDS] and even more massive dropping out of IDS supporters from the Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ], the nine-hour electoral assembly in Buje passed into the party's future [as published]. Instead of a split and bad feelings, after the electoral results were announced, Dino Debeljuh congratulated Jakovcic.

Of the 129 members who were present, Jakovcic won 89 votes and Debeljuh won 32. After the long voting procedure in three rounds, the IDS got four deputy chairmen: Damir Kajin, Axel Lutenberger, Ivan Pauletta, and Dusan Gortan (in the third round).

The restored calmness and self-confidence among the assembly deputies of the IDS were undoubtedly influenced by the fact that, in the Saturday [24 June] issue of GLAS ISTRE, Branko Ruzic, deputy in the Chamber of Counties [of the Croatian Assembly], and Igor Stokovic, mayor of Pula, denied the announcement that they were switching over to HDZ, which had been published by the same newspaper the day before! Moreover, Ruzic even sat among the members of the working council of the assembly, and was also elected in the Council of IDS (true, with a modest 66 votes).

Defection and Recall

Perhaps some individual intentions of switching to the other party will be halted (or postponed) by Jakovcic's warning published in the Saturday issue together with the aforementioned denials: in contrast to deputies, mayors or other officials will be recalled at once! Since nobody wants to remain powerless just because of a new party membership card, things will remain for the most part as they are, until new elections.

And what kind of future awaits the defectors was illustrated by Damir Kajin, who said that in the next elections not even members of the closest family circle

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would vote for Denis Jelenkovic (who, according to Jakovcic, had demanded the function of chairman of the IDS's economic board one month earlier, but the board did not vote in his favor!).

The most severe criticisms of the current transfers were of "underground" activities and trading people, which were voiced by the district-prefect of Istria, who had already become the main target in that area, from the top as well as from the bottom.

Never has it been more difficult in the past five years to be a member of IDS, one of few true opposition parties in Croatia, than today. Never before did the ruling party, with the help of its media and satellites, pursue a policy so openly inimical to the IDS as it is doing today, resorting even to manipulations or lies, by which it wants to crush yet another state enemy, after having recognized the same enemy in many independent and freedom-oriented people in Croatia....

Buying People

"In political relations an atmosphere has been imposed that is short of any culture, morality, or honor, whereas buying people, as if they were disposable consumer goods, is in vogue right now. In addition to corrupt individuals in Istria and in the IDS, we are witness to the daily spreading of lies and sowing of distrust of the leading people in Istria. In such activities the ruling party is eagerly assisted by certain individuals from the so-called opposition," district-prefect Delbianco said in Buje.

For next Monday [3 July] Delbianco has announced at the county assembly meeting in Pazin that he would submit a vote of confidence in the assembly.

One of the messages and demands expressed at the IDS assembly in Buje is that the "failed" presidential Council for Istria should be formally dissolved; it was supposed to establish a parallel authority and to discredit the IDS's electoral success.

The adoption of the disputed Statute of Istrian County, the admission of Istria into the Assembly of European regions, and holding the First World Congress of Istrians were assessed as historical events. The Istrian Statute is considered the most important document in recent Istrian history and affirms Istria as a multicultural and multilingual region.

Holding the seminar of the Council of Europe on regional self-governing and transboundary cooperation in Brtonigla was assessed as the crown of all IDS's international activities. Precisely because of the success of the first seminar of the Council of Europe held in the Croatian territory, that is, in Brtonigla, the results of which (as distinguished from the Congress of Istrians) were found to be satisfactory by all the parties, it was expected that the mayor of Brtonigla, Tullio Fernetich, would be elected as one of the four chairmen of IDS, for he is an Italian (he said in the debate that IDS had restored pride among the Italians who had remained in Istria and had made possible the dreams of a better future), but this time the deputies did not give him a green light.

New Branches

The assembly in Buje, in addition to its confirmation of continuity, reflected the commitment to thorough reorganization and strengthening of the internal structure of the party, about which Debeljuh spoke most of the time. Debeljuh offered his view of IDS and reproached Jakovcic mostly for being overly liberal in running the party and neglectful toward the party base, but on the other hand, recognized Jakovcic's results on the international scene and among the Istrian diaspora.

Taking the floor after the only rival for the leading position in the party, Jakovcic did his best. He did not renounce Debeljuh, much less his platform, saying that implementation of the greatest part of it could start only now.

Without disregarding anybody and accepting everything that was useful from the constructive opposition, Jakovcic accomplished a convincing victory. He was so happy about it that he urged the deputies to lift the sanctions that had been imposed on some party members last year in Pazin, which was done. This is to say, everybody is welcome and invited to construct a stronger and better IDS that will not only remain in the assembly, but will also form a new government together with the rest of the opposition!

To achieve that, in addition to the IDS clubs in the United States and one recently established in Zagreb, the assembly expressed support for the establishement of branches of the Democratic Congress (without "the Istrian") throughout Croatia, to strengthen the idea of regionalism and civil democracy.

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Oleksy Discusses Cannes Summit, EU

BR2906134195 Paris LES ECHOS in French 29 Jun 95 p 6

[Interview with Polish Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy by Frederic Magnan; place and date not given: "Jozef Oleksy: Countries Associated With Union Should Be Treated as Partners"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Magnan] What is your assessment of your participation in the Cannes summit?

[Oleksy] I think the kind of forum that we are offered as part of European summits needs to evolve. Associate countries should have greater access to the preliminary phases of European Councils, and they should be offered more discussion time during the actual summits. To be sure, we were able to make ourselves heard in Cannes, but there was no debate. The meeting could have been a lot more fruitful; this was unfortunately not possible due to a massive agenda—from infrastructure works to the situation in Bosnia to the democratization process in Russia. He who grasps at too much loses everything. This was more or less the case in Cannes. And it makes me regret even more the fact that nothing came out of my proposal of a European summit focusing on Central and Eastern European associate countries, with a single topic: the problems regarding our future integration.

[Magnan] Does this mean that you do not consider as relevant the first elements of the EU's enlargement strategy as announced by the Fifteen—the "structured (privileged) dialogue," or the White Paper on access criteria to the single market?

[Oleksy] The White Paper and the "structured dialogue" bring with them huge benefits, since they give more definition to the challenges we have to face in order to join the EU. They also make it possible to explain to the population why we need to speed up the country's renovation. Also, the structured dialogue is a first opportunity for us to express ourselves within the confines of the Union. When he visited me in Warsaw, [outgoing EC President] Jacques Delors told me that an associate country—for its own good, but also for the good of the Union—should lose no time in giving its opinion about the changes the Europe of the Fifteen should undergo, as this is the very Union it will become part of. Therefore, associate countries should be treated as genuine partners. The more the EU listens to its associate countries, the less shaky the solutions it offers them when they join. We are also eagerly waiting for membership negotiations to start, because without a specific timetable things are bound to remain nebulous.

[Magnan] When do you think Poland could join the Union?

[Oleksy] A working hypothesis is the end of the century. Wine drunk too young is bitter, and wine left too long in its barrel turns sour. In other words, we need to find the best time both for the Union and for Poland.

[Magnan] So the Polish economy could withstand such an early membership?

[Oleksy] You know, Poland is not a total novice as regards integration. In many fields, we are up to the Union's standards. True, a lot remains to be done in other sectors, such as farming. Poland cannot bear by itself the cost of restructuring its agriculture, especially if we have to become part of the Union's ultraprotectionist system. I think we should hold comprehensive bilateral talks, since the process of restructuring Poland's vast market of 40 million citizens is not without import for Europe.

[Magnan] So you consider that the integration of Central and Eastern Europe into the EU matters more from a political viewpoint rather than an economic one, while the fifteen are more concerned about preserving the single markets' balances and structures. Do you think you can convince Western Europe that enlargement to the East is of prime importance for Europe's future?

[Oleksy] Should communism's collapse in Central Europe only have led to the reunification of Germany, and not that of Europe? Poland does not see the EU as a foreign institution from which it would merely seek financial assistance. Let us be clear: We have chosen Europe as a historic option for Poland. This is the reason why we are ready to speed up the process of compliance with membership criteria. We are not simply after financial assistance. We embrace all of the democratic values embodied by the EU. Of course, this does not mean that Poland could not live without the Union, but that we should be judged only by our economic restructuring efforts is unthinkable. There is currently a very wide consensus among the Polish population in favor of our integration policy. Polish governments of varying political stripes all followed this policy of opening to the West. However, we do not want to see the Polish people's support to our European policy wearing off as time goes by and uncompensated sacrifices accumulate.

Germany's Handling of Illegals Criticized

LD2906131295 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 1220 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Potsdam (DDP-ADN)—Polish Foreign Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski has condemned as inappropriate the approach of the German authorities in expelling 250 alleged Polish illegal workers in Frankfurt an der Oder. Bartoszewski said on

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East German Radio Brandenburg today that there is no justification for the manner in which they were treated.

He said the Poles can hardly be accused of wrongdoing if Germans asked them to come and work in Frankfurt an der Oder. He called for full clarification of the incident. He does not believe German-Polish relations will be impaired during the runup to Chancellor Kohl's visit next week. [passage omitted]

Okonski, Wilecki Hold Joint News Conference

LD2906155495 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1200 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Translated Text] National Defense Minister Zbigniew Wojciech Okonski said at a joint news conference with General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the General Staff, that despite an agreement reached at the recent defense summit meeting, the army is becoming a party in the election campaign. In his opinion this is harmful not only to the army but also the state.

[Begin Okonski recording] At the meeting I appealed to participants not to use defense issues as a subject in the presidential campaign. The campaign has already started and we are witnessing it. Sometimes we unwillingly become a subject of discussion. Despite my appeal, these issues have not been registered and accepted by some politicians. [end recording]

Both Minister Okonski and Gen. Wilecki gave assurances that they will abide by the provisions of the Law on the Minister of National Defense, which was passed by the Sejm today. Minister Okonski stressed that he must remain loyal to parliament and the president.

Gen. Wilecki denied rumors that he is allegedly running as a candidate for president or prime minister. He assured that he is not doing anything outside his sphere.

[Begin Wilecki recording] Suspicions have started to surface that the army is taking part in various political games. In the opinion of some people, the army wants to be a state within a state, to decide for itself on its form and future, and to avoid democratic, civilian supervision. Some of these accusations are linked to me. Rumors have been circulating about my aspirations to take over the post of prime minister, or president, or God knows what else. I want to state firmly and unequivocally that I am not doing anything which exceeds my authority. The main motive of my actions is concern about the state of the Armed Forces. [end recording]

Comment on Defense Minister Law

WS3006121295 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 30 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Pawel Wronski: "Deputies Passed the Competence Law; Ministerial General Staff"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Sejm passed the Law on the Office of the Defense Minister by a staggering majority yesterday. The defense minister and the head of General Staff accused politicians of involving the Armed Forces in politics.

The law subordinates the General Staff to the civilian Ministry of National Defense [MON]. The president will probably veto the act. He claims he should be in command of the General Staff. The conflict over competence was the main reason for the Drawsko crisis.

Defense Minister Zbigniew Okonski's reacted with reserve to the fact that the Sejm confirmed MON's command over the Armed Forces. "This is not the end of the legislative process," he said at a news conference yesterday. "If the law becomes effective, I will observe it. I suggested a compromise while it was being drafted. From what the deputies said it seemed that agreement was possible, but time has proven otherwise."

Okonski had suggested shelving the law drafted by the presidential National Security Office [BBN] and amending the deputies' draft.

General Tadeusz Wilecki, head of the General Staff, claims that the passing of the law was a result of the "political atmosphere." He brought a report prepared by Krzysztof Zabinski's commission in 1991 to the conference with him. The commission was to settle problems pertaining to the Armed Forces. The report suggested that the General Staff be extracted from MON. "Just look at who signed this. You cannot change your views on the Armed Forces each morning," said Wilecki.

Among the signatories were the author of the law Janusz Onyszkiewicz and former Defense Minister Jerzy Milewski, who was recalled from MON for criticizing the General Staff's omnipotence.

The head of General Staff is against subordinating the Military Information Services directly to the minister. "Those are the eyes and ears of the Armed Forces," he stated.

He did not say, however, whether he is prepared to take political responsibility if the intelligence services flop.

The heads of the General Staff and MON accused politicians of attempting to involve the Armed Forces in the presidential campaign.

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Everything seems to show the president will try to prevent final approval of the law before the presidential elections. According to [BBN head] Henryk Goryszewski, by voting "for," the Sejm abuses the president's authority as commander in chief of the Armed Forces.

Daily Says Left Wants To Destroy Nation

WS2906114495 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 26 Jun 95 p 10

[Article by Zbigniew Lipinski: "Other Papers on the Armed Forces; Staff Under Attack"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The postcommunist and Solidarity left is at the end of its rope. The Armed Forces continue to occupy top place on lists of the most popular public institutions. Whoever sows terror defends himself against destruction. The Armed Forces are avoiding involvement in politics. [Former Defense Minister] Piotr Kolodziejczyk made such attempts, but he had to leave along with his cohorts. Danuta Waniek, deputy defense minister and a feminist, recently left the Ministry of National Defense [MON], and [Deputy Defense Minister] Jerzy Milewski was dismissed soon afterwards.*

The Armed Forces must thus be spat on, splattered with mud, and an air of scandal and innuendo should be created. Hence the "Drawsko affair" was concocted, inciting conflicts between the older soldiers and the "cats" [youngest enlisted soldiers] beyond all proportion. Cases of sadism among noncommissioned officers and officers, which should be condemned, are presented to be the rule, not the exception. The Field Ordinary's Office is attacked. The binding element of any armed forces—discipline—is being questioned. Even single instances of suicide among enlisted men are being publicized. Any pretext will do.

The Armed Forces have been severely reduced; funds allocated to the military are paltry; the arms industry is being consistently destroyed; procedures of passing legislation pertaining to the military are very lengthy; the earnings of cadres are low. Under the pretext of "civilian control" over the Armed Forces, a political bureaucracy is being introduced at the cost of military experts. The Left is also trying to curb the constitutional powers of the president of the Republic of Poland over the Armed Forces.

The 12 Crimes of General Wilecki

GAZETA WYBORCZA, ZYCIE WARSZAWY, and the WPROST weekly are in the lead in attacks on the Polish Armed Forces. WPROST has recently come to the fore. Gen. Tadeusz Wilecki, head of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, recently came under fire in an article entitled "State Within a State" (No 24, 11 June 1995). The indictment charges the general with the following crimes:

1. He does not want the Armed Forces to be involved in politics: He is attempting to minimize the influence political and social institutions have on the Armed Forces. Successfully...

2. He is an autonomous thinker: He endorses... the concept of a commander in chief or a general inspector of the Armed Forces in times of peace.

3. He wants a legible system of command: ...he does not hide his disdain for the staple NATO concepts providing for a great amount of autonomy for Army, Air Force, and Navy commanders.

4. He is loyal to the president, who is the commander in chief of the Armed Forces. Moreover, he supports the Belweder's interpretation of the small constitution, which provides that MON and the General Staff are both subordinate to the president of the Polish Republic.

5. He did not join the attack on Bishop Leszek Slawoj Glodz as he is developing the structures of the General Staff in the face of bitter criticism of the hitherto achievements of services established within the Armed Forces after 1989. Except for the Field Ordinary's Office.

6. He generates funds for the Armed Forces: He agreed to sell approximately 60 modern combat vehicles to one of the Arab states.

7. He is an anti-Semite: see point 6—to whom did he sell the vehicles?!

8. He thinks experts, not bureaucrats, should decide about purchases for the Polish Armed Forces and the shape of their budget: The Economic and Financial Board of the General Staff is in full control of the final shape of the military budget. Gen. Wilecki and his subordinates decide what and where the Armed Forces will buy, and how particular forces are to be developed.

9. He keeps his professional secrets: the General Staff rations the information it issues.

10. He does not understand the basic principles of a democratic state—because Danuta Waniek said so.

11. He demands loyalty and discipline from his subordinates: those who are loyal and disciplined can count on promotions and awards, says an anonymous officer-informant.

12. He is respected and is surrounded by devoted colleagues: Gen. Wilecki's men include several dozen generals and colonels.

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Once the Left does finally take over completely and bring Wilecki to the People's Court, it will most probably temporarily suspend the moratorium on the execution of the death sentence.

Technology of Embitterment

Several months ago, GAZETA WYBORCZA established a fact by reporting that the president was preparing to appoint Wilecki prime minister. WPROST, on the other hand, claims that the Christian National Union was considering Wilecki's candidacy for president. Tomorrow someone might write that Wilecki is applying for the post of the UN Secretary General... It is not the truth that really matters, but creating confusion, chaos, innuendo, suspicion.

Taking advantage of legislative loopholes and the preelection frenzy, the leftist-liberal press is doing everything possible to turn MON against the General Staff under the motto of "civilian control" over the Armed Forces. Please note the usage of the word "control." It suggests that the Armed Forces—as a very suspect institution—has to be controlled by civilians.

MON is becoming a effigy for the General Staff, the structure of the Armed Forces is an obstacle on the way to joining NATO, the minister is hardly visible in the shadow of the head of General Staff, and the civilian part of MON is becoming marginal. [Defense Minister] Okonski has probably come to terms with the fact that he plays second fiddle, Wilecki has political ambitions—this is how two institutions within the Polish Armed Forces are being turned against each other.

Politicians and the leftist press are also trying to cause the general and the minister to clash over financial issues by claiming that the head of General Staff and the minister both earn just as much. That would be an ominous signal that the head of the General Staff is equal with the defense minister. "This is not and cannot be," says [former Defense Minister] Janusz Onyszkiewicz. Piotr Kolodziejczyk, on the other hand, brought up the issue of the sale of the unfortunate carriers one year after it was carried out, claiming that he knew nothing of the whole deal. He says the secret services "accidentally" tapped into a telephone conversation on the issue.

Defense Minister Wojciech Okonski does not fall for these primitive tricks. "I have no intention of taking money away from my officers," he said. He reminded that it was Onyszkiewicz who leveled the earnings of the head of the General Staff and the defense minister, and Kolodziejczyk continued the practice. He denied his predecessor's alleged lack of knowledge on the contract with the Arabs. He assured he is in the possession of documents amply proving that the admiral [Kolodziejczyk] was involved in orchestrating the deal.

Deputy Minister Kindly Informs

A person who took rather "peculiar" care of the Armed Forces and of their morale was Jerzy Milewski, who fulfilled the function of a deputy minister of national defense until 13 June of this year. In the leftist-libertine WPROST weekly, he launched a fierce attack on the Armed Forces and its generals.

He accused Wilecki and high-ranking officers of the General Staff of making the Armed Forces independent of the prime minister and the minister of national defense, who, allegedly, used the accomplished facts method to achieve this: Displaying open disrespect for the civilian leadership..., and even ignoring the minister (of defense); General Staff cells taking over control of MON, relegating the civilian-military part of MON to the sidelines. The former deputy minister warned that this may result in reestablishment... of a military MON, similar to the ministry we had in the Polish People's Republic... The Armed Forces may also once again become an autonomous entity in the state.

This was too much. Okonski decided to mount a counterattack. Such statements are detrimental to the interests of the state and can be used by opponents of our integration with the organization [NATO]. The real [wcielona] control over the Armed Forces is no worse in our country than elsewhere else, retorted the minister. Moreover, he threatened to take appropriate action after the deputy minister's statements, and he kept his word. He forced the prime minister to dismiss Milewski, and to do so within a few days, at that. The minister also pointed out that the agreement not to draw the Armed Forces into the election campaign had been violated. An interesting thing is that Kwasniewski encouraged Milewski (he is, after all, a former activist of Solidarity) not to give in. In return for Milewski's dismissal, Okonski had to agree to employ [as a deputy minister] Andrzej Karkoszka, who is close to UD [not expanded—formally stood for Democratic Union, now part of the Freedom Union]; however, the minister is saying openly that he is trying to find other deputies from the right wing.

As an award for the political brawl in the Armed Forces, the former deputy minister will be appointed as the Polish ambassador in Copenhagen. It pays to harm the state and the Armed Forces in the Third Republic.

Stay Away From the Armed Forces, President

Lech Walesa "froze" the draft law regulating the powers of the president, the head of MON, and the head of

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the General Staff in the Armed Forces; it was a bill which he had submitted himself. In return he proposed three amendments to the bill prepared by the Sejm: the minister of defense would have a duty to consult the head of the General Staff about the structure and financing of the Armed Forces; it would be necessary to submit the state's defense policies to the president for approval; the president would have the right to entrust the defense minister with tasks related to the state's defense, and he could do this independently of the government.

Like a voting machine, the left wing in the Sejm National Defense Commission rejected all the amendments. Henryk Goryszewski, head of the National Security Office and a representative of the president [in the commission], declared that such a decision is a violation of the constitution, and left the hall. He will encourage Walesa to veto the law and send it to the Constitutional Tribunal.

Armed Forces Struck by VAT

The Finance Ministry is also getting ready to deliver a blow to the Armed Forces. Everyone is paying VAT [value-addded tax]. The Armed Forces ought to pay it as well, decided Deputy Minister Elzbieta Chojna-Duch. In line with calculations made by the Economic-Financial Board of the General Staff, if the military budget is maintained at current levels, in 1996 the Finance Ministry would have to earmark 2.2 trillion old zlotys to offset the higher expenditures. Commander Roman Dankowiakowski exposed the nonsense of this idea. The Armed Forces are maintained almost exclusively from money provided by the state budget... The money is yielded by VAT as well. This would simply be taking money out of one pocket and putting it in another. The tragic financial situation of the Armed Forces is proven by, among other things, the fact that in several garrisons which were unable to pay for electricity, electricity was cut off.

MON demands that 2.8 percent of GDP be earmarked for the Armed Forces next year. However, the Finance Ministry wants to maintain the 2.5-percent level. An agency for military real estate is to be set up which will take over all the real estate which the Armed Forces are not using. MON wants the agency to be exempt from all fees and taxes, but the Finance Ministry refuses to agree.

Gaining Another Stronghold

It is generally believed that the campaign against the General Staff and Wilecki is part of the electoral battle, because the general is seen as a man devoted to Lech Walesa. This, however, is only part of the truth. It must be remembered that the left wing has long-term plans.

The strength of any country is determined by four fundamental factors: an efficient economy, a clear and stable law, a foreign policy that respects national interests, and strong Armed Forces. The blows delivered by the communists were followed by destructive policies of Balcerowicz and Lewandowski, and the people who are in power now are finishing our economy off. The law has been turned into a caricature. Only in the Armed Forces are there still people left who want the Armed Forces to be strong and who defend the Polish arms industry. It is these people that the left wing wants to finish off. In this area we are witnessing excellent cooperation between the Democratic Left Alliance, the Freedom Union, and the Union of Labor. Despite differences, they are linked by a common goal which is of paramount importance to them: Destroying the Polish state and securing a monopoly on power.

The left wing has only a few strongholds left to gain in the battle for this monopoly: the presidency, a few ministries, and the Armed Forces. The latter constitutes yet another stronghold which is now being attacked. The establishment which defends the Armed Forces is now the General Staff, headed by Gen. Wilecki. Hence, the fierce onslaught in this direction.

Every nation needs authorities—both people and institutions. To achieve its goals, the left wing is consistently destroying all authority. It is trying to ridicule and discredit nonleftist politicians, as well as to incite the public to turn against them. In this manner the left wing undermines the two greatest institutional authorities—the church and the Polish Armed Forces. Unfortunately, attacks on the church have been partially successful. Now is the time to attack the Armed Forces.

Thus, the attack has not only a tactical-electoral dimension. The left wing has a strategic goal—to destroy the Polish nation and state. However, it seems to have forgotten the old adage: He who lives by the sword dies by the sword.

Article Called 'Disgraceful'

WS2906132595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Jun 95 p 3

[Article by Pawel Wronski: "The Majority of Clubs Supported the MON Law; POLSKA ZBROJNA Under Attack"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Yesterday's debate in the Sejm on the deputies' draft law "On the Office of the Minister of National Defense" unexpectedly turned into

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a discussion of articles in the Defense Ministry [MON] organ POLSKA ZBROJNA.

Longin Pastusiak (Democratic Left Alliance) mentioned an article run by the paper on 26 June. It was a reprint from a rightist paper [as published]. The author stated that GAZETA WYBORCZA, ZYCIE WARSZAWY, and the WPROST weekly play a leading role in attacks on the Armed Forces. Under the motto of civilian control over the Armed Forces "they are turning MON against the General Staff." "There still remain people in military circles who would like to see the Armed Forces strong. The left wants to get rid of them." The author claims the left wants to "destroy the Polish State."

Pastusiak was outraged: "How could the MON organ have carried such a hideous article?"

Deputy Defense Minister Andrzej Karkoszka replied the text was "disgraceful," "against state interests," and that it was reprinted without MON's knowledge. He promised an investigation will be carried out and the guilty parties punished.

We found out that the article published in POLSKA ZBROJNA was very well received by circles close to the General Staff. Prominent generals invited the author for coffee. The deputies wondered yesterday whether the editorial board was overzealous or whether the staff had inspired the article. [passage omitted]

Kolodko's 'Strategy for Poland' Assessed

WS2906130995 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Jun 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Jan Bazyl Lipszyc: "Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko's Advisers Appraise His Program: A Year of the Strategy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Practically all programs which comprise the "Strategy for Poland" have been positively evaluated in a document prepared under the supervision of Professor Jerzy Hausner, chief adviser to Deputy Prime Minister Kolodko. The document "Strategy for Poland—The First Year of Realization and Future Projections," which also contains the first forecasts for 1998, is to be discussed at today's Council of Ministers session.

Each of the ten key programs comprising the "Strategy" is addressed separately in the elaborate document. It does not contain a complete summary of the program's realization. The document considers the beginning implementation of the social security system as the most important task for the second half of 1995. Emphasis is also placed on the issue of managing state property and privatization. Of basic importance is the immediate passage of the Law on Commercialization and Privatization of State Enterprises. Work in this area, which also covers reform of the government's economic center, should be intensified to the greatest extent possible.

The document also outlines forecasts for future economic development. It anticipates maintaining the annual rate of development at the level of around 5 percent, and lowering inflation to about 10 percent.

Indexes Better Than Anticipated...

The document states that the majority of basic macroeconomic indexes were realized in 1994 at a more advantageous level than planned.

Index	Projected	Achieved
	Percent	
GDP growth	4.5	5.0
Growth of budget income	5.3	6.2
Investment rate	21.3	22.0
Unemployment rate	17.2	16.0
Export growth (fixed prices)	6.0	18.3
Import growth (fixed prices)	10.9	13.4

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...and Worse

Last year, it was not possible to maintain the planned level of inflation. Consumer prices were expected to rise by 23.6 percent, but they rose by 29.5. The growth of consumption was lower than planned—2.3 percent, and not 3.1 percent. Average disability and retirement pensions were increased by 4.8 percent instead of 6.5 percent.

Still in the Current Year

The main tasks set in the summary of "Strategy" for the coalition this year are:

—preparing and passing the Law on Collective Employment Relations

—completing work and implementing amendments to the Labor Code

—accepting and implementing the social security system

—implementing new principles for defining the level of disability and establishing a network of rehabilitation centers

—elaborating a new concept for actively counteracting unemployment, strengthening the role of voivodes

—amending laws on organizing and financing science and higher education

—passing and implementing the Law on Privatization and Commercialization

—amending the Law on Financing Gminas to decentralize the system of public finances

—accepting new rules regulating the pricing system in Poland, to limit administrative interference in establishing its amount

—accepting the new banking law and the new Law on the National Bank of Poland

—accepting and implementing the Law on Investment Funds, the system of tax indexing, tax law, energy law, and the new customs law.

The last task for the second half of 1995 is to implement reform of the economic center, defined as one of the more important conditions for fully realizing the "Strategy for Poland."

Four New Programs

In the opinion of the authors of "Strategy" it should be supplemented by four new programs.

The implementation of a regional policy is to help accelerate the transformation of the economy and to ease the social consequences of reforms. Regional programs of restructuring and development should be established. Budgetary means for their realization are to grow faster than total budgetary expenditures.

The second program covers environmental protection and ecological development. Its primary executive criterion is to reduce pollution and the use of energy, fuel, water, and raw materials per unit of industrial production and GDP.

Regarding housing policy, it is necessary to amend the law, creating separate principles for crediting and financing their construction. The criterion for this program is to be an increase in the number of apartments, on the assumption that personal outlays for this purpose will grow faster than expenditures from the State Treasury.

The final, additional program is "From the OECD to the EU." It anticipates that in the next year Poland will become an OECD member and a schedule for integration with the EU should be defined by the year 2000.

Ministry Debates Next Stage of Privatization

WS2906134595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 27 Jun 95 p 16

[Article by Artur Morka: "How To Denationalize 55 Billion Zlotys; The Pains of Privatization"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There still remain more than 2,500 companies meeting privatization requirements with a total value of approximately 55 billion zlotys [Z]. Only 1,000 companies, however, meet the requirements of capital privatization, inclusion in investment funds, or for listing on the stock exchange.

The Economic and Sociopolitical Committees of the Council of Ministers debated yesterday [26 June] on how to use those assets. GAZETA WYBORCZA obtained the newest version of the document "An Evaluation of Assets To Be Privatized and an Outline of How They Are To Be Managed" that was developed by the Privatization Ministry.

We presented estimates of the remaining assets that meet privatization requirements in early June. The report states the assets are worth Z55 billion and include:

—2,111 state companies (with a positive financial result) worth Z20.4 billion;

—502 single proprietorship companies owned by the State Treasury worth Z18.3 billion;

—11 banks and three insurance companies worth Z3.4 billion;

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—shares in three companies listed on the stock exchange worth Z1.75 billion;

—84 companies where the state is the sole proprietor worth Z450 million;

—25 percent of shares in companies included in the Mass Privatization Program worth Z1.5 billion.

Together with the financial results of single proprietorship companies of the State Treasury and state companies for 1994 (Z4.8 billion), and accounting for data supplied by the Central Office of Statistics, approximately Z55 billion still remain to be used for various privatization purposes.

The book value of companies in only four of the strategic branches of industry approximates Z17 billion (the power industry Z7 billion, mining Z3.9 billion, metallurgy Z3.7 billion, and telecommunications Z1.8 billion). If these sectors were excluded from privatization, the value of assets remaining to be privatized would drop to approximately Z38 billion.

What To Do?

The Privatization Ministry would like to privatize more than 1,000 huge state companies into single proprietorship companies of the State Treasury.

Their shares would be distributed in the following way: 15 percent for employees, 25 percent for establishing pension funds, 10 percent for compensation funds for the public sector and pensioners, 45 percent for capital privatization, and a 5 percent reprivatization reserve.

The ministry hopes that thanks to privatization it will be able, for example, to accelerate the process of reforming the social security system.

One obstacle in the way of privatization may be the fact that a minority stake was provided for investors, and each proprietor wants to have full control over his company.

The ministry claims that in order to implement the project, the problem of the so-called sectors of special significance for the economy has to be settled, particularly of the power industry, mining, metallurgy, and telecommunications. The problem will be very difficult to solve, partly due to an amendment passed at the motion of the Polish Peasant Party to the Privatization Law, which was adopted by a special commission. That amendment provides that a Sejm resolution is required if those sectors are to be privatized.

"If those sectors are excluded from privatization, it will be impossible to establish compensation or pension funds," warns the Privatization Ministry.

The remaining companies would have to be privatized directly through quick sales and leasing to employees. Those forms bring much lower revenues for the budget, nevertheless it is the most dynamically developing method of privatization in Poland (nearly 40 percent of privatization was carried out this way).

Government's Vacillation on Taxes Criticized

95EP0135A Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 8 Jun 95 p 21

[Article by Piotr Swirowski under the rubric "Economy": "Will the Government Have Enough Time To Modify Taxes? What Awaits Us in 1996"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *I will offer two hypotheses. Either the difficulties with implementing the 1995 taxes have taught the government nothing, and this year yet another tax row lies in store for us, or else, the government does not intend to change anything and, contrary to previous promises, we will again have higher taxes. In this case, an even bigger row in the course of the forthcoming presidential election campaign awaits us.*

Despite this being only the midpoint of the year, the government behaves as if it did not want to manage publishing changes to the 1996 taxes before the end of the year. Legislative proceedings take several months, and this year they will certainly be hampered even more by the presidential election.

As is known, only in September 1994 did the government refer to the Sejm proposals for tax changes in 1995. The president vetoed the law passed by the parliament toward the end of November. Once the Sejm overrode the veto the president sent the law, without signing it, to the Constitutional Tribunal for the latter to verify its constitutionality. As a result, the law was published as late as January, after the fiscal year began.

It was supposed to be different this time around. At the beginning of the year, Minister of Finance Grzegorz Kolodko offered assurances that his department was drafting amendments to 1996 tax regulations. However, it turns out that the most important decision (on what taxes we are going to pay) has not been made yet. Minister Kolodko just says enigmatically that his department "is working on a few versions of tax rates for the next year."

There Is No Time Anymore

Meanwhile, as a rule, two to three months are required to push an amended law through the Sejm (counting from the first reading of the law). Three readings of the draft occur during this period.

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After the Sejm approves a law, it goes to the Senate. The Senate must consider it within two weeks. However, if the Senate offers amendments to the law during this period of time it ends up once again in the Sejm, which must decide whether the proposals of the Senate are to be approved or rejected.

Only after that does the law reach the president's desk. Before the president signs it, he can send it on whatever pretext to the Constitutional Tribunal which must verify the constitutionality of the challenged provision. Last year, such a subterfuge by the president took more than a month.

Along the way there also is a recess for deputies which will likely last one month, from mid-July to mid-August. Therefore, if the government does not send draft tax laws to the Sejm before July the Sejm will most likely get to work on them in September at the earliest.

As a result, there may be no time to announce tax changes before the end of the year. If so, the case will once again end up before the Constitutional Tribunal which will have no choice but to censure yet again the introduction of changes after the year begins.

Fast Track?

There is also another way. The government may send the draft law to the parliament on the so-called fast track, the way it did last year. In this case, the Sejm must handle it within one month. Then the law is considered by the Senate, and so on.

However, this rapid mode of work on taxes has drawn universal criticism. Not only opposition deputies but also those of the coalition were against it. Subsequently it was denounced by the Constitutional Tribunal and the president, too.

Everybody argued in unison that this was no way to write sound tax laws. The government explained that the situation was exceptionally bad and that it would be better a year from then. Draft amendments to tax laws for 1996 were supposed to reach the Sejm as early as May.

However, this did not happen. The Ministry of Finance has not produced any drafts yet, apart from proposals to change the level of tax deductions for housing expenses of legal entities and individuals (a 15-percent increase) and a draft for taxing capital groups—so-called holding companies, which has already been reviewed by the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers.

Taxes Must Be Lowered?

The tax rates for 1996 have not yet been set; at least this is what Minister Kolodko has stated publicly. Kolodko announced that he would try to reduce taxes. He made it contingent on making a decision on changes in the social insurance system, and the government has made no decision on this issue.

Does anyone in the government still remember that the PSL [Polish Peasant Party]-SLD [Alliance of the Democratic Left] coalition assumed the obligation to reduce taxes on the lowest-income groups? This was promised first to the Labor Union (in return for help in overriding the veto of the president on the 1995 tax laws), and later to the PPS [Polish Socialist Party] and Young Democracy (in return for help in rejecting the verdict of the Constitutional Tribunal which denounced the retention of raised tax rates). However, such a reduction would require that taxes for those with higher incomes be raised. In this event, the coalition would have to reckon with protests from this group of taxpayers, i.e. businessmen. This will definitely not meet with their approval. Vice Chairman of Business Center Club Jeremi Mordasewicz said: "I do not believe that our community would view such Robin Hood-style actions with favor."

Automatic Tax Hikes

A couple of substantive tax changes will occur without any need for pushing laws past the parliament and the president.

Tax exemptions for returns on capital (including those from the sale of stock) will expire at the end of this year. Individuals associated with the stock exchange and representatives of the Planning Commission have already criticized proposals by the ministry to tax such incomes and requested that the exemption be continued. NBP [National Bank of Poland] Chairperson Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz stated that the "proposals are premature."

The validity of concessional rates of the tax on goods and services will end, including the rates for electricity, gas, and construction materials. Unless the government extends the rates, prices for goods and services will grow in 1996, and inflation will then shoot up; hence the concept of introducing a new, 12-percent rate for power and gas (we discuss it today on page 1). The government would like to slow down the growth of prices in this manner, preventing the additional growth of inflation. Economists have criticized this concept because the introduction of a completely new VAT [value-added tax] rate subverts the transparency of the tax system.

Specialists from the Ministry of Construction have criticized the concept of raising the VAT rate for construction materials. They maintain that this will hit construction hard. In the opinion of people associated with this sector, the growth of apartment prices triggered

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in this manner will "be the death knell for housing construction."

Therefore, the government cannot count on introducing changes of such significance painlessly. The first protests and attempts to bring pressure to bear have already occurred. More are to come, especially given that the presidential election campaign is beginning, and tax rates will quite certainly be one of its substantive elements.

Just To Do Nothing?

It may be that the government actually does not want to do anything, although officially it has "several versions" up its sleeve. It is not ruled out that the government has already decided not to change the high rates in 1996.

Now, this is easier to accomplish since the higher rates of 21, 33, and 45 percent are set forth for permanent use in the tax law. Unlike last year, this time the government does not need the consent of the Sejm to keep the rates. So what if on this occasion the government yet again breaks its promises to the taxpayers?

As we remember, Minister Kolodko assured us after taking office that he would reduce taxes for 1995. Following a tax hike, he called this operation a "failed attempt to reduce taxes."

Highway Expansion Plans Viewed

MM2806132395 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 8 Jun 95 p 10

[Article by Tadeusz Stec: "Highway a Rock-Solid Certainty: Corridors to the Four Corners of the World"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A 1990 forecast commissioned by the United Nations envisaged that by the year 2000 the number of people crossing Poland in transit would reach 100 million. By 1993, our country saw as many as 170 million transit travelers. At the time when the number of road vehicles in Italy exceeded 10 million (that is, as many as we have in Poland today), that country had 4,000 km of highways. Today Italy has almost 6,000 km of highways. Today in Poland we have only a few hundred kilometers of roads classified as highways....

All Roads Lead to...Poland

Arguably, no other branch of our economy is developing as dynamically as freight transportation. The Krakow region will have two national highways, the A-2 and the A-4, designed as integral elements of the cross-European route network and, as such, constituting transport corridors running along the East-West line. This situation will create an opportunity to combine the economic potential of two sizable geographical regions. One of these is the very large market (with almost 300 million consumers) comprising the countries of the EU, the other is the combined market of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus. The A-1 highway will be an element of the North-South transport corridor extending from Middle Eastern countries through Bulgaria and Romania all the way to the Polish ports of the Tricities [Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot]. In turn, the North-South route leading through the Polish ports will enable Scandinavian freight traffic to reach the Black Sea and Mediterranean Sea basins.

When Will Construction Start?

Highway construction in Poland will mean not only economic benefits for the state but also a chance for domestic and foreign contractors, who are even now standing by ready to start work on the project.

The "go-ahead" is eagerly awaited by 22 consortiums, which intend to submit their tenders and compete for the license to build the new highways. Two companies from the Krakow region will be taking part in the running: the Krakow-based Autostrada SA Highway and Bridge Consortium and the Realbud Highway Construction Consortium. However, there are indications of growing impatience on the competitors' part, as the first deadline for submitting tenders, originally announced for spring this year, has come and gone with no sign of any activity at all.

"The extensive scale of the tasks involved," Boguslaw Liberadzki, transport and maritime economy minister, explains, "makes it inevitable that there will be delays and that deadlines will be rescheduled. The launch of the highway construction venture is eagerly awaited by a large number of building-materials manufacturers and merchants (who hope to sell cement, grit and stone, crushed rock, aggregate, asphalt, steel, and so on), as well as construction design firms, transportation, and road and bridge construction companies. All of these firms presented their tenders last May at the Autostrada Polska (Polish Highway) International Highway Construction Fair in Kielce. The fair was attended by more than 200 firms, which presented and advertised their products there."

Every 100 Km To Generate 35,000 Jobs

It is estimated that the construction of 1 km of highway creates jobs for 70 persons for one year. Another 12 persons per kilometer are employed by the investors' services, the geological and geodesic survey services, legal consultancy, and so on. Employment also rises in the contracting companies cooperating with the investor (quarries, cement plants, asphalt plants, etc.), so that the number of people working in these companies in jobs

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generated by the highway construction is four times as high as the number of those employed directly on the highway. Thus, the construction of 1 km of highway will provide new employment to 460 persons. When you take into account the manpower required to work on associated facilities, such as gas stations, motels, restaurants, and vehicle service stations, the number rises to 700.

An important factor in the growth of employment is economic development of the localities adjoining the new highways. Foreign experience shows that the gradual expansion of these localities generates a fivefold rise in employment in relation to the original number of jobs created for the actual highway construction. This means some 35,000 new jobs per every 100 km of highway.

What Shall We Build Them With?

Most feasibility studies point out that, as far as construction costs alone are concerned, asphalt- and macadam-surfaced highways are less expensive to build (by a factor of 1.5-2). The durability of a concrete surface, on the other hand, is higher by a factor of 2.5-3.5. With the use of the new, high-strength concrete compounds, that factor rises to 7. With high traffic volumes (in excess of 23,000 vehicles a day), the performance value of concrete-surfaced highways turns out to be better, and thus they are more cost-effective.

However, Leszek Rafalski, director of the Highways and Bridges Technical Research Institute, does not agree with this assessment. He believes that we have next to no tradition of highway construction using concrete surfaces. If we were to opt for that solution, we would have to import prohibitively expensive machinery and equipment to make and lay the concrete slabs using techniques and procedures with which our engineers are not familiar. On the other hand, we are perfectly well experienced and equipped to build asphalt and macadam-surfaced highways. There are about 90 firms in Poland which produce high-quality bitumen compounds. Only relatively few components involved in their production need to be imported.

According to experts from the Highways and Bridges Construction Institute and Dromex highway and bridge construction company, our existing highway sections, as well as those whose construction is in preparatory stages now, do not guarantee the expected 20-year service life under the increased traffic load norms obtained in EU countries (vehicle axle weight 11.5 tonnes). The consequences of our failure to comply with these requirements are already apparent on the Krakow-Chrzanow southern highway section. The many wheel ruts and cracks in the highway surface are the typical evidence of the loss of the highway's load-carrying capacity, which is a result of very high numbers of heavy vehicles using the highway. It is inconceivable that we could permit similar damage to occur on the highway sections under construction now.

The Tax Man's Shadow

Heads of our domestic highway construction companies are concerned to note that they will never be competitive in relation to, say, corresponding German firms unless they are able to enjoy the same rights and privileges. For example, a paving machine costs about 500,000 German marks [DM]. Western firms are able to import them at virtually purchase price, not to mention the export tax concessions they can claim at the same time. Polish firms which want to import the same machine will have customs duties imposed on them as well as separate border taxes and value-added tax liabilities. In this way their costs rise from the original DM500,000 to about DM1 million....

In practice this means that the artificially increased highway construction costs and the resultant decrease in the competitiveness of Polish highway construction companies lessen the latter's chances to win highway construction tenders. The ultimate consequences of this state of affairs is that the road users will be faced with much higher highway charges.

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Daily Publishes Libel Charge Against Iliescu

AU2906133895 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 23 Jun 95 p 3

["Libel charge" sent by the daily ZIUA to the General Prosecuting Magistracy denouncing President Ion Iliescu]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Section Head Prosecutor, the undersigned staff of the daily ZIUA, headquartered in No. 4 Ion Campineanu Street, represented by director Sorin Rosca Stanescu, on the basis of Article 137 of the Penal Code, forwards the present libel charge to the Judiciary Directorate of the General Prosecuting Magistracy, informing it of the infraction of slandering an organization, by citizen Ion Iliescu, living at the known address in Cotroceni.

We hereby request that penal investigation should be initiated against citizen Ion Iliescu.

The reasons for the libel:

Both in certain public statements made in December 1994, but especially in the interview granted to national television on 13 June 1995 and fully published in the 14th June issue of the daily VOCEA ROMANIEI, citizen Ion Iliescu made the following assertions about the daily ZIUA:

—"This undignified tabloid, ZIUA," which "launched the entire campaign";

—"thus, all this is mere invention, something concocted by the editorial staff";

—"it was a shameless lie, a mere invention of this individual, who, as a matter of fact, lacks all moral authority whatsoever."

All the aforementioned assertions, which were made publicly, meet the terms to qualify as an infraction of slander against state and public institutions. It is worth noting that according to Article 145 of the Penal Code the notion of "public institutions" also includes "any organizations carrying out useful activities from the social point of view and functioning according to law." The daily ZIUA is one of these organizations belonging to the press and which functions according to the law and Romanian Constitution. Therefore no one has the right, not even Romania's president, to defame the daily ZIUA by referring to it as an "undignified tabloid."

Moreover, it would be beneficial if the place and the role of the press in Romanian society could be established, once and for all, and if at long last it could be decreed that press bodies are protected by law because they carry out activities that are useful for society.

No one is above the law, as the Constitution itself stipulates, and he who violates the law should also face its consequences, regardless of the place he occupies in society.

Consequently, the editorial staff of the daily ZIUA hereby forwards this libel to the General Prosecuting Magistracy in view of the commencement of penal investigations on the basis of the aforementioned reasons.

SRI Agents Accused of Filming Journalists

AU2906141695 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 24 Jun 95 p 2

[Article by Marius Huc: "The Securitate Merely Changed Its Hairstyle"]

[FBIS Translated Text] About two months ago, Tana Ardeleanu, a correspondent of the Investigations Section of the daily ZIUA, initiated a series of articles regarding President ion Iliescu's collaboration with the KGB. Following this, the General Prosecuting Magistracy took steps and initiated investigations among the correspondents of the daily, investigations that our colleagues from ZIUA termed hilarious. President Iliescu himself, visibly embarrassed, appeared on national television and accused the daily ZIUA of spreading lies and calling it an "undignified tabloid." Following this, three of the daily's correspondents filed a libel writ against citizen Ion Iliescu, which is to be sent to the Penal Investigations and Criminology Directorate [of the General Prosecuting Magistracy].

Last Wednesday [21 June], some correspondents of the daily ZIUA, together with George Scutaru from the MEDIAFAX news agency, were sitting on the terrace next to the Telephone Company Palace when they noticed the indiscreet eye of a video camera pointed at them from behind the black curtains of a Dacia-type car. With the help of the police, they managed to seize the two "cameramen," who—after having offered false identities—eventually admitted to being personnel of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI].

The SRI communique on the incident at the Telephone Company Palace terrace denies the fact that the filming operations had anything to do with the ZIUA correspondents and claims that the two SRI men, Ioan Tinca and Ionel Poporoaga, were just adjusting the camera in view of a covert action that was to be carried out there against, as they claim, the Chinese mafia operating in Romania. The head of the SRI Surveillance Directorate has already informed the ZIUA correspondents that Ioan Tinca and Ionel Poporoaga will be severely punished for having attracted attention to themselves in an unjustified way.

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Despite all this, Tana Ardeleanu is certain that the real mission of the two SRI employees was to tail the correspondents, especially considering that George Scutaru had just returned from Moscow, where he was visiting on a scholarship. At the time when of the Telephone Company Palace incident, the correspondents were exchanging information about the Iliescu-KGB case. The film recorded by the SRI cadres clearly proves that the camera was pointed precisely at the table where the correspondents were sitting, and independent cameramen said that no actual recording is needed when cameras are adjusted, as watching the monitor in the standby mode is perfectly sufficient.

The incident in which the two SRI employees are involved is about to become a scandal, similar to the Patapievici and Ungureanu cases. And even if the ZIUA correspondents were not the true targets of the SRI action, although according to Tana Ardeleanu this would be "hard to believe," this further enhances the impression of a nondemocratic, police-run country. Does this mean that the witch-hunt against the correspondents has already begun?

'Incompetent' Agents Dismissed

AU3006060995 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Jun 95 p 1

[Article by N. Militaru: "Incompetent SRI Officers Removed From Positions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The two Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] officers who got involved in an incident on 21 June, when they were suspected of tailing two journalists while on a counterespionage operation mission, have been removed from their position. The same penalty has been applied to the other employees involved in the action, reads a communique issued by the SRI Press Bureau. Those officers displayed lack of professionalism and lack of ability to fulfill their mission, which they ruined, and became guilty of a regrettable altercation that took place on that occasion. Other measures will be taken in accordance with the results of the investigation that will be carried out by a commission of our institution and a parliamentary commission in charge of SRI activity's overview, which has been notified, reads the communique. SRI Director Virgil Magureanu will be heard by the authorized commission of the parliament in connection with this issue.

Tudor's Charges Against SPP Head Refuted

AU3006060495 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 22 Jun 95 p 10

[Article by Dan Maracineanu: "EVENIMENTUL ZILEI Answers the Question 'What Is Behind C.V. Tudor's Attacks Against Guard and Protection Service Director Dumitru Iliescu'?"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The recent attacks launched by Corneliu Vadim Tudor [president of the Greater Romania Party—PRM] against Major General Dumitru Iliescu, supported by an interpellation in the Senate, as well as numerous articles full of calumny, originate from a request that C.V. Tudor addressed to the SPP [Guard and Protection Service] director that was not fulfilled.

About 10-11 days before the anniversary of the SPP establishment (7 May), C.V. Tudor asked Dumitru Iliescu to promote his bodyguards, who are SPP cadres (the ranks of the three guards were: sergeant, sergeant major, and warrant officer 3d grade). Although at that time Major General Dumitru Iliescu did not respond to C.V. Tudor's request in any way, in a few days time, during a government meeting, the senator of Butimanu (C.V. Tudor] reiterated his request but this time also added a warning: "Uncle Mitica, don't cross me!"

The SPP anniversary was over and C.V. Tudor's guards had not been promoted. From that instant, C.V. Tudor started inquiring to the left and to the right about Dumitru Iliescu and started asking for compromising data from everyone who was willing to supply it.

That is when C.V. Tudor received unexpected assistance from one of his very good friends, a general in the Ministry of the Interior, who, without [Interior Minister] Doru Ioan Taracila's consent, supplied him with data about the SPP director. These were compiled later into an anonymous letter, signed by "a group of SPP officers." The letter, full of insults, was read by C.V. Tudor in the Senate's plenary session.

It took us a long time to find out what lies behind the whole affair. Why is C.V. Tudor supported by a general of the Interior Ministry in his attempt to remove Dumitru Iliescu from his position at the helm of the SPP?

In order to understand the entire process, we must return to the year 1989:

Prior to the December 1989 events, 520 officers of the Fifth Directorate of the State Security Department were in charge of ensuring the protection and guard of dignitaries. After the outbreak of the revolution, in the last days of December 1989, with all the persecution launched against Securiate officers, a void of authority

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appeared in this field. This void was going to be partially filled on 26 December 1989, when a group of officers of a mechanized unit in Bucharest was assigned to ensure the guard of the National Salvation Front Council president, Ion Iliescu.

This situation was to become permanent when the Special Unit of Guard and Protocol (7 May 1990) was set up and later, in November 1991, the Guard and Protection Service was set up. According to the SPP regulation, this is "the state body specialized in ensuring the protection of Romanian dignitaries and of foreign dignitaries during their stay in Romania, as well as in ensuring the guard of their working quarters and residences."

In order to understand the importance of this structure, we can tell our readers that every Romanian dignitary has at least one SPP officer permanently by him, and this makes the SPP, as an institution, important from two points of view:

—From an informational point of view: the one who controls the SPP also controls all information regarding moves, discussions, and state of mind of Romanian dignitaries;

—From the viewpoint of the leadership: the SPP is an essential institution in case of a state coup. Through the presence of SPP officers around the Romanian dignitaries, all of those dignitaries or only some of them could be eliminated in a few minutes.

We believe that this data explains the attempts to subordinate the SPP either to the Ministry of National Defense or to the Ministry of the Interior.

All the insults launched by C.V. Tudor have only one goal: to subordinate the SPP to the Ministry of Interior.

Maybe in this way he will attain the promotion of his bodyguards.

C.V. Tudor's Gratuitous Calumnies Are Being Investigated by a Subcommission of the Senate

On 15 May 1995, through a warning declaration from the rostrum of the Senate, Greater Romania Party leader Corneliu Vadim Tudor accused the head of the Guard and Protection Service, Major General Dumitru Iliescu, of immorality, corruption, influence peddling, and fraud.

According to that declaration, the PRM senator founded his serious accusations on the memorandum received on the same day from several anonymous and disappointed SPP employees.

Although he is a member of the Defense Commission of the Senate, a commission that is in charge of exercising parliamentary control over this service, Corneliu Vadim Tudor did not bother to make the minimum effort to check—on the phone for example—the information included in the memorandum. Given the fact that the first attack against Dumitru Iliescu launched last year by the senator of Butimanu in the weekly ROMANIA MARE—based on the SPP head's alleged connections with the KGB—did not have the expected effect, it seems that C.V. Tudor was not even interested in checking the validity of the accusations included in the memorandum. In any event, the PRM senator has no proof that could support his calumnies, and this is the reason why, with greatest insolence, he requested that a commission be set up to check the information included in the memorandum.

On the other hand, Major General Dumitru Iliescu asked the Senate's Standing Bureau "to carry out a detailed investigation of each of the accusations and, on this basis, operatively to present its conclusions in the plenary session of the parliament."

As a result of Dumitru Iliescu's request, the Senate's Defense Commission set up a subcommission in charge of investigating the validity of the PRM senator's accusations. According to some sources of the commission, the SPP head handed over about 40 documents to the senators together with the report of the Court of Accounts regarding the control over the SPP in 1992, a report that weighs today about 2 kg. So far, the conclusion of the three senators in the subcommission is unanimous: C.V. Tudor uses the rostrum of the Senate as an addition to his own publication.

The members of this subcommission supplied EVENIMENTUL ZILEI some of the documents presented as proof by the SPP head, Dumitru Iliescu. On the basis of these documents, the accusations included in the memorandum, according to sources of the subcommission, are "serious calumnies aimed at denigrating the respective institution (the SPP) and, more than that, denigrating President Iliescu, head of the Supreme Defense Council, a body that coordinates the operative-intelligence activity of the SPP."

The "Jericho" Guns Considered by C.V. Tudor To Be of Poor Quality Are Recommended Precisely for SPP-Type of Services

As regards the "illegal, out of turn promotion of his friend Mircea Radutac, who in only a few years has been advanced from the rank of sergeant to that of colonel," the investigation subcommission was handed the transfer order from the Ministry of National Defense to the SPP in 1992 of Major Radutac, as well as his personal file that clearly proves that the promotion of an active officer at the age of 50 (thus, who will retire

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in five years) has been done in accordance with the statute of military cadres, following consultations with his superiors and with the SPP Consultative Council.

Dumitru Iliescu was accused also of "purchasing some poor quality Jericho pistols from Israel, which are incompatible with the equipment of an SPP officer."

Such guns have been purchased also by SPP-type of services in France or the United States and are recommended for use in crowded areas. In addition, the Jericho pistol belongs to the group of NATO weapons that Romania has no right to possess and thus the approval for this purchase was granted as an exception by the authorized foreign military bodies.

The members of the subcommission were also given the technical report of the SPP Equipment Council, a report that clearly states this weapon's advantages. [passage omitted]

According to the purchase contract, each pistol has been purchased $100 cheaper than its actual market price. The weapons have been purchased from the representation in Bucharest of the Israeli firm and not from Israel.

Major General Dumitru Iliescu was also accused that he employed his wife in the SPP although she did not have adequate training. On the basis of a protocol between the Ministry of National Defense and the SPP signed in 1992, the Center for Preventive Medicine, where Dumitru Iliescu's wife was employed as a veterinary technical assistant with the rank of sergeant, was transferred from that ministry to the SPP together with the entire personnel of that department. This is how Dumitru Iliescu's wife became her husband's subordinate. [passage omitted]

The Strehaia Military Equipment Manufacturing Factory Belongs to the Army

Corneliu Vadim Tudor also affirmed that as a result of some dishonest contracts, Opel-Vectra cars were purchased from Belgium and each person who signed the contract for the Romanian side put away $5,000. According to minutes concluded at that time, the commission that negotiated and concluded the respective contract included eight people, one of whom represented the council in charge of SPP equipment and the rest were representing the Presidency's Economic-Administrative Directorate. According to those documents, Dumitru Iliescu did not attend the negotiations and did not sign the purchase contract. Moreover, in order to penetrate the Romanian market, the firm sold the cars $3,000 cheaper than the official market price.

As far as the military equipment factory in Strehaia is concerned, where Dumitru Iliescu was accused of having shareholder relatives and friends, we must note that this belongs to the Industrial Group of the Army, thus, it is a company operating exclusively with state capital and thus it cannot have shareholders. [passage omitted]

The Two Railway Carriages of Ammunition From Moldova Did Not Exist

As regards the two railway carriages carrying 9-mm ammunition that were received for free by Dumitru Iliescu from the Republic of Moldova, but registered in Romania with appropriate purchase documents, the subcommission investigated secret documents as well as the files concerning the SPP's arms and ammunition without finding any evidence of the assertion. No documents have been found at the customs department either that would prove this. [passage omitted]

As regards the foreign computers which "entered the country free of duty" as C.V. Tudor affirms, the SPP is equipped with computers purchased in Romania through some Romanian firms. The purchase of the computers has been approved by the council in charge of SPP equipment, and there are a number of documents that prove this.

The most eloquent document is the budget report on the SPP's expenses in 1992 compiled by the Court of Accounts. The report states clearly that no irregularities as far as expenses from the budget allotted to this service have been found.

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Members of Operative Defense Headquarters Listed

AU2906130095 Ljubljana MAG in Slovene 28 Jun 95 pp 24-25

[FBIS Summary] The Slovene Government recently formed the Operative Defense Headquarters, by which Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek "rounded up his system of coordination and in a way ended a polemic with the presidential palace, which was constantly cautioning, demanding, and proposing the formation of the National Security Council. The decree about the formation of the operative headquarters lists its members by name and does not include the president of the state. His institution is dealt with under Point 3, which casually stipulates that a representative of the bureau of the president of the Republic of Slovenia takes part in the work of the state Operative Defense Headquarters."

The Operative Defense Headquarters or "the Intelligence Trust of Dr. Drnovsek" consists of: Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, commander of the headquarters; Defense Minister Jelko Kacin, deputy commander of the headquarters; Finance Minister Mitja Gaspari, member; Minister of Economic Activity Maks Tajnikar, member; Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler, member; Colonel General Albin Gutman, commander of the Slovene Army General Staff, member; Police Chief Alojz Kuralt, member; Slovene Civilian Defense Commander Miran Bogataj, member; Drago Fers, director of the Slovene Intelligence-Security Agency, member; Marjan Miklavcic, head of the military security service.

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Federal

Social Groups Protest Arrival of German Troops

LD2906220395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1831 GMT 29 Jun 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 29 (TANJUG)—The independent antiracist society for truth and justice, Bela Ruza (white rose), and the Serbian-Jewish and Serbian-Russian Friendship Societies on Thursday held a protest rally outside the German embassy in Belgrade against the announced sending of German troops to the Balkans.

A memorandum addrssed to the Yugoslav, Bosnian Serb, and Serb Krajina governments was read out at the rally. The memoramdum calls the governments to intervene with international institutions as regards taking legal, political, and diplomatic actions against Germany, because of its decision to send troops to the former Yugoslavia.

The rally also appealed to the German parliament to stop the sending of troops to the Balkans.

The opposition League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia Party on Thursday also opposed the decision on sending the Rapid Reaction Force that would include 1,500 German troops to Bosnia.

Chairman of the party's Yugoslav board, Ratko Krsmanovic, told a news conference that the troops could not be harbingers of peace, but that they represented a "new danger of a bigger and more biased military engagement of the UN Protection Force."

Krsmanovic said that the German Government's decision to send troops to Bosnia was "news of unrest and contempt," because memories of crimes committed by Wehrmacht troops in World War II were still fresh in these regions.

Bank Governor: No Danger of 'Monetary Collapse'

AU2906201595 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 Jun 95

[Report on news conference by National Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic by Goran Maslar in Belgrade on 29 June—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] Speaking at the International Press Center at the promotion of the first issue of a book in English on the conditions and opportunities for investment in Yugoslavia, National Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic, denying rumors that have recently been heard in public, said that there will be no changes in the antiinflationary policy, that there is no danger of any kind of monetary collapse, and that there will be no primary issue of money for this year's harvest.

According to Avramovic, the harvest will be financed from real sources, from the proceeds of sale of last year's crop, and from money raised from within agriculture. Avramovic said that the world today is an enormous competitive market for investment, as he had stated in the preface of the book, which is regarded as necessary for contacts and negotiations with potential foreign investors.

When the program of monetary reconstruction was being devised in December 1993, when we had catastrophic inflation, the team that he headed was clear that one must have an open policy toward foreign investment.

[Begin Avramovic recording] As I have tried to explain in the preface to the book, we need foreign investment to create additional jobs. We are suffering from unemployment. Second, we need foreign investment to obtain technology. We have much technology and we are very proud of our excellent experts, but we need more and we need the most modern technology to succeed. And third, we need markets. [end recording]

Governor Avramovic stressed the importance of exports, saying that exports are an absolute must for us. This had been shown even before the crisis, as well as during the implementation of the program. In his view, to win exports we need to have an open economy on the one hand, and the maximum foreign investment on the other.

Unions: Economic Losses Greater Than Profits

LD2806160995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1438 GMT 28 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Subotica, June 28 (TANJUG)—President of the Council of Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia Dragan Radulovic said Wednesday that the Yugoslav economy's total losses are four and a half times greater than the profit.

At a session of the council in Subotica, a town in northern Serbian province of Vojvodina, Radulovic said the share of losses in the gross domestic product had risen to almost 23 percent, whereas that of the economy's own working assets had dropped to 12 percent.

The session discussed the current economic situation, its impact on the position of employees, and the trade unions's activity in the field of social and working legislature.

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Speaking about the effects of the three-year-old international sanctions, Radulovic said it was impossible to quantify the damage, but the consequences were drastic.

Radulovic said the sanctions made work impossible in a large number of Yugoslav enterprises, because of which nearly one million employees are on paid holiday, young experts are leaving the country, and the social safety of the population is on an extremely low level.

The president of the Council of the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia assessed that the basic goals of the Yugoslav economic programme and economic policy for 1995 were not being implemented and that scientists warned that the Yugoslav economy was in a six-month recession.

"The wage in April was worth 79 percent of that in December in terms of purchasing power, whereas the retail prices were rising at a monthly rate of six percent," Radulovic said.

Serbia

ND Issues Statement on Contact Group Plan

LD2906223895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2217 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, June 29 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of Serbia's New Democracy Party (ND) Thursday supported the basic elements of the Contact Group plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina, adding that some of its vague aspects should by all means be clarified.

The ND, the minority partner of the Socialist Party of Serbia in the republican government, expressed concern over the contradictory stands of the international community toward the crisis in the former Yugoslavia.

On the one side, the international community is launching numerous peace initiatives while on the other massing more and more troops and arms in the region, the party said in a statement.

It said that a removal of the United Nations sanctions against Yugoslavia would be greatly condusive to a peaceful settlement of the crisis.

The ND presidency maintains that negotiating with the international community does not mean a bargaining that would result in the lifting or easing of the sanctions in return for a blank recognition of the republican borders of the former Yugoslavia but an effort to reach a comprehensive peace solution, the statement said.

The opposition Serbian Radical Party said Thursday that the advocacy of a four-month cease-fire in Bosnia at the latest European Union summit was bringing nothing new to the Bosnian Serb Republic, while buying time for the Muslim and Croat sides.

Party Vice President Maja Gojkovic told a press conference that her party wanted an immediate and durable peace in Bosnia.

Commenting on the part of the EU declaration that referred to the former Yugoslavia, she said that it was "yet another in a series of pressures on the Serb people in the western Serb countries, and especially on the Bosnian Serb Republic."

Seselj Calls Milosevic 'Traitor' to Nation

AU2906134795 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jun 95 pp 20-22

[Interview with Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party, by Olivera Miletovic in Gnjilane Prison; date not given: "The Police Indict You, the Police Try You"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Directly from the Gnjilane Prison and exclusively for NIN, Vojislav Seselj is talking about his arrest, about Slobodan Milosevic and Mirjana Markovic [Milosevic's wife], Radmilo Bogdanovic, Zoran Sokolovic, Radovan Stojsic Badza.... It seems that the life in jail makes the chairman of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] more and more radical. [passage omitted]

[Miletovic] Do you think that the top officials in the police are nonpartisan, or are our police, actually, the police of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS]?

[Seselj] The problem is that, in Yugoslavia, the top police officials are totally indoctrinated ideologically. It is not that our police are an instrument of SPS, they are merely an extension of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia [SKPJ]. Therefore they are not interested in either moral or legal norms. In their activities, they follow the principle of political opportunism.

The SRS is the biggest, and perhaps even the only serious opponent to Milosevic's regime. Without our force, the rest of the opposition, which amounts to only two democratic parties, would be definitely pushed to the margins.

In addition to the SPS and the SKPJ, Milosevic has also won over the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], the New Democracy, and the Civil Association. The SPO is especially fully instrumentalized, showing the public that the arrest and battering of Vuk and Danica Draskovic two years ago has eventually paid off in many ways. By battering Draskovic, Milosevic has turned him into a sheep.

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The Serbian radicals, however, cannot be tamed in such a way. Therefore I expect that he will soon ban our party administratively.

[Miletovic] Do you think that Yugoslavia, that is, Serbia and Montenegro, has a multiparty and democratic system?

[Seselj] In the last two years, Milosevic has been systematically smothering all the elements of the multiparty system and democratic institutions. The beginning of his antidemocratic crusade coincided with the turn he made in the national policy. When he set out on the path of treason, he entered into a partnership with his erstwhile worst enemies. To them, it is no longer important that Milosevic is restoring the communist dictatorial regime. The most important thing for them is that he, just like them, has finally become an open traitor to the national interests.

The regime in Montenegro is resisting the communist wave, and is trying to implement a thorough privatization. However, in Montenegro, like in Serbia, the leadership has sunk deep in crime and corruption. The most brutal anticonstitutional and unlawful measures are being applied against serious political opponents.

[Miletovic] Not a single case of corruption or robbery has been solved in this country. For example, Jezda has been allowed to leave the country; Dafina is opening beauty salons throughout Belgrade.... Who is behind all this?

[Seselj] Milosevic is personally behind all the criminal scandals in Serbia. We, the Serbian Radicals, have already successfully uncovered the scandal about generals, the scandal about ministers, and the case of the former governor of the National Bank, Atanackovic. Right now, we are uncovering the scandals about old hard currency savings, business deals of quasi-private banks, the redemption of farming products, import-export quotas, economic and financial monopolies....

[Miletovic] Are the sanctions, as the ruling party insists, the only and absolute reason that the per capita national income, which amounted to $3,000 in 1988, is now only $300?

[Seselj] The sanctions have influenced the deepening of our economic crisis and social hardships by 30 percent. Thirty percent of the blame lies with the incompetent, ideologically fanatic, and crime-ridden authorities.

[Miletovic] If the president of Serbia had endorsed the confederation or asymmetric confederation when it was being proposed, would the war have come about at all?

[Seselj] Slobodan Milosevic did not initiate the war, but rather the Croats, the Muslims, and their foreign supporters. However, Milosevic is to blame that the Serbs did not prepare themselves adequately for that war, that they did not launch a propaganda campaign in the foreign media, and that the objectives of the war were not clearly determined at the very beginning. Milosevic is to blame that Dubrovnik, Zadar, Karlobag, Gospic, Ogulin, Karlovac, Pakrac, Virovitica, Osijek, Vinkovci, Sarajevo, and Tuzla are not in Serbian hands today. [passage omitted]

Aviation Workers Protest, Block Road, Railway

AU2906181695 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jun 95 p 14

[Article by T. Jakobi: "Blockade of Roads and Railroads Today"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pancevo—The workers of the Utva Aviation Company will block today at six o'clock [a.m. or p.m. not specified] the regional Pancevo-Kovacia road and the Belgrade-Pancevo rail line at the flyover where the two intersect because the deputy prime ministers of Yugoslavia and Serbia and representatives from the Industry and Defense Ministries did not turn up at the meeting yesterday, which they promised they would.

The main initiator of the meeting was the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Serbia, which still insists on this meeting so that a solution could be found to save production in Utva. The workers of this company have not received salaries since December last year, while their company has no contracts to maintain basic production until the end of the year.

Government Supports Wheat Prices, Buys Surplus

AU2906192795 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 29 Jun 95

["Exclusive" statement by Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic for Radio Television Serbia; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Government of the Republic of Serbia today decided to purchase all the market surpluses of the 1995 wheat crop, which is estimated at 1,850,000 metric tons. We have made this decision even though we have at present a significant amount of wheat that will ensure consumption for a long period of time.

However, appreciating the exceptional importance of wheat production for the stability of the country, and the need to ensure stable agricultural production, the state has decided to make this decision intending primarily to protect the interests of farmers, their hard work in these

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difficult conditions, and their contribution to the overall economic stability of the country.

The price of wheat at this moment on the domestic and foreign markets is well below the price at which the Republican Commodity Reserves bought wheat last year. Our farmers know best that wheat cannot be sold even at last year's price. However, bearing in mind the difficult business conditions, and to protect farmers, agricultural enterprises, cooperatives, and other agricultural producers, we have decided to make the price of this year's wheat crop considerable higher, at 28 paras [0.28 dinars] per kilogram. We have decided this in order to protect farmers.

At the same time the government has also decided to make possible the exchange of wheat for diesel fuel, fertilizers, and wheat seeds at the parities that existed last year, without any changes. This will significantly improve the economic position of the farmers and other producers, and facilitate the purchase of the necessary production materials for the future production.

All market surpluses of wheat will be purchased on a noninflationary basis and without resorting to a primary issue of money. Considering the conditions offered, which are the price and the exchange parities, this will also satisfy the interests of producers while preserving microeconomic stability and creating conditions for the export of wheat as our lasting commitment.

I would like to stress that, with this, we in Serbia are starting to create an agrarian budget whose main aim is to secure lasting stability in agricultural production, in which we have a major comparative advantage, and the economic security of the farmers and other agricultural producers.

The harvest is a major task. Therefore, the government has created all the necessary preconditions for the harvest to be successfully concluded by agricultural producers, as has been the case in past years.

Editorial Changes at Politika TV Predicted

AU2806161295 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 95 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Jovan Ristic and Hadzi Dragan Antic Instead of Ignjatovic?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] TELEGRAF has learned from reliable sources that there will soon be some changes in the management of Politika Radio and Television. A few days ago, Mira Markovic, president of the JUL [Yugoslav Left], met Jovan Ristic, chief and senior editor of BK [Braca Karic] Television, and POLITIKA Director Hadzi Dragan Antic. TELEGRAF's sources claim that they agreed to appoint Jovan Ristic as chief and senior editor of this company instead of Slobodan Ignjatovic, and (the old director) Hadzi Dragan Antic as new director. The decision on these changes should soon be made by Politika's management board. As sources close to the current Politika Television leadership claim, four months ago, someone issued an order to Politika Television's stockholders, of whom there are seven, not to pay in the funds for the development of the network, as stipulated in the founding contract. The aim is obviously to cause a financial crisis in Politika Television, which has recently been doing well financially. The same source claims that, in comparison with August last year, when Hadzi Dragan Antic was director, the income in May this year has been increased 12 times. This income covers the regular needs of RTV Politika.

Those in RTV Politika who favor Ignjatovic claim that they are being subjected to "daily brutal pressure" by some members of RTV's management board and that this pressure is aimed at forcibly reinstalling Hadzi Dragan Antic as Politika Television's director.

Finally, there are rumors at RTV Politika that "Antic is only a joker," that is, a temporary man who is holding the position in RTV Politika for A. Tijanic.

We have learned from sources close to the "accused" party that A. Tijanic's return to Politika Television is out of the question, that there is no "daily brutal pressure," and that the final accounts of RTV Politika have not been completed and so one cannot talk of an increase in income, but in fact about losses, which Politika Television has reported.

The internal newspaper POLITIKA ZA NAS, in its issue No. 409 of 23 May 1995, reports losses incurred by POLITIKA EKSPRES (2,153,000 dinars in 1994) and RTV Politika, 1,533,000 dinars [period not specified]. These results were reviewed by the company's management board headed by Ljubisa Igic on 14 March this year. The "accused" takes the view that the most natural thing would be to return RTV Politika to POLITIKA, where it was created.

Kosovo

Inspector's Murder Termed 'Terrorist Act'

LD2906223395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2210 GMT 29 Jun 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, Yugoslavia, June 29 (TANJUG)—The state security chief in Pristina, Serbia's Kosovo-Metohija province, Milan Lakovic, condemned on Thursday [29 June] the murder of the province's state security inspector Bejtus Beka as a terrorist act.

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Beka was shot in the back and gravely wounded by an unknown assailant in central Podujevo, a town north of the provincial capital of Pristina, on Monday.

He was rushed to a Pristina hospital and then to Belgrade, but all efforts to save his life proved futile.

Speaking after Beka's funeral on Thursday, Lakovic said that the shooting of his ethnic Albanian colleague was a desparate effort by ethnic Albanian separatists in Kosovo-Metohija to impose terrorism as a method of political struggle.

The foul and treacherous attack on Beka as he was walking down the street in central Podujevo speaks volumes of the ruthlessness and barbarity of the attackers, said Lakovic.

Beka's funeral was attended by the Serbian Interior Ministry's State Security Chief Jovica Stanisic.

Podujevo police are making intense efforts to find the perpetrator of the crime, the Serbian Interior Ministry said.

A strong ethnic Albanian separatist movement has been active in Kosovo-Metohija for decades, striving for the province's secession from Serbia and its parent Yugoslavia and annexation to neighbouring Albania.

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